WAR AND WORLD GOVERNMENT

DR. FRANK CRANE

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WAR *and* WORLD GOVERNMENT

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

FOOTNOTES
TO LIFE

"It is not a book, it is a mine. I have been picking ingots out of it. And I know it was made in the joy of self-expression, for it is the sort of book that seems to be alive and talking to one. It is a rich storehouse of wit, wisdom and humanism."

Vance Thompson.

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WAR *and* WORLD GOVERNMENT

By FRANK CRANE, D. D.
Author of "Footnotes to Life," etc.

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FOREWORD

Rarely has any one man exerted so wide an influence upon the thinking of the people as Dr. Frank Crane. His daily editorials have been supplied, through the Associated Newspapers, to over thirty of the leading journals of the United States and Canada. His readers number millions.

His ideas are sane yet constructive and progressive. His style is luminous and vigorous. He has something to say, and says it in the simplest possible way, always attractive in manner, often impassioned.

This volume includes his editorials upon the subject of war. The chronological order is preserved, as it shows the development of a consistent conviction, growing with the logic of events.

At first only a protest against the immense stupidity of war, its cruelty and causelessness, his articles gradually take on a more positive tone, becoming an ardent plea for World Government.

With all his energy Dr. Crane has championed this cause, a high and inspiring ideal.

After 6,000 years of war he has sounded the bugle call to the nations to get together, to replace international anarchy by law, to end the horror and futility of war in the only way it can be ended—by International Union.

And if out of the present agitation the beginnings of some intelligent World Government shall come, not the least of those who have had a part in this great movement will be the author of this volume.

Thousands of readers, we are sure, will be glad to have this permanent record of the activities of one who has done so much toward turning the world from madness to sanity, from "the thousand wars of old" to "the thousand years of peace."

JOHN LANE COMPANY

New York, April, 1915.

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WAR *and* WORLD GOVERNMENT

WHY WAR?

REDUCE this war business to its lowest terms. Sift it by common sense. And what is the gist of it?

Why, this: Nations go to war for the same reason boys fight—because they are childish, lack self-control, and have not yet grown up enough to know that disputes cannot be settled by brute force. They have not learned law.

Or for the same reason gunmen, or savages, or wild westerners fight—because they are used to carrying deadly weapons.

Or for the same reason gentlemen used to duel—because they are vain, selfish, and sensitive, and have diseased notions of "honor."

The war passions are vanity, egotism, love of display, love of violence, and race hatred. Each of these sentiments is low, vicious, unreasoning, and semi-civilized.

The war spirit is the combined barbarity of the population. It is a million hates unified into a huge hate conflagration.

There is nothing grand about it but the brass bands and uniforms.

The reason it is inspiring is that only in war the people enjoy that exhilaration that comes from perfect organization and team play, which, if they would manifest them in their daily business of creating values—a divine business—they would love quite as much as when they manifest them in the devil's business of destruction.

Another reason for war is that by inflaming "patriotism" the rulers cause the workers to forget their rights; old, moribund, monarchic ideas are given a new lease of life; absolutism seems still necessary, and the mind of the world is diverted from democracy and turned back to autocracy.

War is the favorite last resort of such men as the czar of Russia and the emperor of Germany and their entourage, because by war dangers and war needs socialism, liberalism, and all movements toward the abolition of privilege are repressed.

Any misunderstanding between Austria and Servia, or between any one country and another, could be easily arranged if the rulers would get together, talk it over, and decide the matter on principles of fair play and equity.

No two nations would go to war if the in-

terests of THE PEOPLE were considered. They plunge into carnage simply because they consider the interests of A CLASS, the nobles, the army officers, or the ruling house.

War simply means THE INCAPACITY OF THE RULERS. It is time those ruling classes who make war, and perpetually prepare for war, were set aside.

THE PEOPLE have nothing to gain and everything to lose by great armies and navies, whether maintained in the idleness of peace or in the destructiveness of hostilities.

Tuesday, August 4, 1914.

THE MEEK SHALL INHERIT THE EARTH

When most people, even professed Christians, hear the saying of Jesus, that "the meek shall inherit the earth," they consider it one of those extreme, Utopian, and idealistic sayings that sound well but are utterly impracticable.

Some time ago a magazine made merry over the idea that the meek would ever get anything in this world, and even offered a prize for any record of a meek person achieving success.

But Jesus had more sense than those worldly wise men who worship Him on Sunday and contemn His wisdom on weekdays.

The meek do and will inherit the earth.

For instance, Europe to-day is a wrangle of violence. Wrath, force, arms, ships, ultimatums, and all sorts of nonmeekness are rampant.

Kaiser and czar, king and emperor, they stand no temporizing. They have drawn the

sword. The whole European system is based upon the rejection of any sort of meekness. The people are war dancing. The women are singing, "Go, my hero, and get the daylights shot out of you because our emperor is peeved!" Millions of armed men march.

Over on this side of the Atlantic folks are rather meek, comparatively speaking. The jingoes couldn't arouse a war furor against Mexico. No two of the United States would think of getting into a fight. There will be no war here, because the people are not getting ready for war, don't want war, and don't consider it among the possibilities.

The United States, the dominant American nation, is permanently committed to peace.

What's the result?

THE MEEK ARE INHERITING THE EARTH!

Europe has whetted its axe to destroy billions of dollars' worth of property; we are going ahead creating things.

Europe is murdering ignorant workers who are fools enough to march out and be shot by platoons; we are redeeming deserts, founding new states.

The best blood of Europe—its working blood—comes in a constant stream to the new world.

Every day America grows stronger. Every day Europe grows weaker.

The programme of military arrogance devastates fields, transforms the wheat land into "the melon patch," where the melons are bleached, vulture-plucked skulls. The programme of meekness is raising a bumper crop of corn and cattle.

At the present rate the United States will be richer than combined Europe before long.

So perhaps after all Jesus was not such a visionary dreamer.

Above the thunder of artillery, the roar of war drums, the cry of battle-mad hordes comes the word from the calm lips of destiny:

"Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth."

Wednesday, August 5, 1914.

THE UNITED STATES OF EUROPE

WHAT is this European war all about?

You know the alleged cause—that Austria declares Servia should be punished for fostering the movement to dismember Austria-Hungary.

A deeper cause is the ancient race-hate between German and Slav. War is collective hate.

A reason still deeper and more real is the fact that millions of men are kept under arms, drilled, impregnated with notions of military glory, and hence welcoming any war as an outlet for their enthusiasm and an opportunity for advancement.

The greatest cause for war is military preparedness. When a nation spends millions of dollars for fireworks sooner or later they want to see them fired off. When five hundred thousand young men have been practising with guns for years, by and by they want to shoot somebody.

That is about all there is to it. Europe's method of keeping the peace—by maintaining enormous armaments—is the most towering folly that the minds of crazy men can conceive.

The plain, simple, sensible thing for Europe to do is to FEDERATE—to form a union somewhat on the order of the United States of America. Then each nation might attend to its own affairs, and all international disputes could be adjusted by a European tribunal. At the disposal of this tribunal, to enforce its decrees, should be one army and one navy.

War between one European state and another, as between Austria and Servia, should be as impossible as war between Ohio and Indiana.

The old theory of entire national independence has broken down. Nations are mutually dependent. What injures one injures the other. One's loss is no more the other's gain.

A general European war would mean inconceivable ruin. It would destroy the works of man that have been slowly perfecting for years. It would be to Europe what the earthquake and fire were to San Francisco. It would be pure destruction.

Perhaps it will take a hideous universal conflict for the nations to see this. When they have wasted their substance and decimated their population and stand bleeding, bankrupt, and beggared, then they may come to their right minds.

Perhaps then they may see that national vanity and touchiness, truculency, and war-preparedness are as terribly destructive and idiotic in a state as vanity, bullying, and boasting are vicious in a boy.

War and that lack of federation which permits of war are always stupid. They that rule Europe are stupid, petty, wickedly childish.

Possibly when they have had their fight out, and are prostrate from their insane anger, they may be willing to look across the sea to these mighty states, bounding forward in that prosperity which is the fruit of co-operation.

Nations learn slowly and oftentimes at a dear price. And it may take the incalculable horror of a vast European cataclysm to teach the states of the old world how vain and how unworkable is the worn-out idea of rival empires safeguarded by armed forces, and how practical is the idea of federation secured by law.

And it may be that in the mysterious mind

of destiny this dread havoc is designed to be the means of bringing about THE UNITED STATES OF EUROPE.

Saturday, August 8, 1914.

AN APPEAL TO SOCIETY WOMEN

ABOUT half the population are women.

This half never goes to war.

It is the man who is the destroyer. The woman creates, conserves. She brings up children. He cuts down men. She lights the candles of life. He blows them out.

The most efficient factor in ending war will be the coming of women into class consciousness. The feminist movement throughout the world is bringing this to pass.

I have called the laboring man to organize against war, to strike against ivory-headed rulers who will not abandon militarism for law.

I have urged the bankers to cut the money-nerve of battling nations, since banks prosper only as the people prosper.

I now call upon the women of the civilized world to unite and stop the hideous hell-broth of destruction now bubbling.

How can this be done?

John Ruskin has told you. He said that "if

every lady in the upper classes of the civilized world would simply vow that while any cruel war proceeds SHE WILL WEAR BLACK —a mute's black—with no jewel, no ornament, no excuse for nor evasion into prettiness—I tell you again no war would last a week."

There is sound sense in this. It would show that YOU DO CARE, and that you want all the world to see that you care.

It would bring home to the hearts of men that war, for women, is as hideous and hated as a pest.

It would mean that the glory and tinsel of war are past, and that we know it now as a stupid, expensive and brutish way of settling disputes.

Let the women of America go into mourning! What a silent, tremendous appeal to the people of Europe!

And, more especially, let the women of society, they who set the styles, they who dress and whose ways are held up before the multitude in the Sunday newspapers and the magazines, let them for once realize their responsibility, that they at last can DO SOMETHING, the ONLY THING perhaps that will save the world.

If, instead of burning peasants' houses and

mangling the men children of women of low degree, war smashed YOUR china and slaughtered YOUR offspring, would you go on with your dancing, and still beautify yourselves and play at precedence?

No. You would shut yourselves up, put on the rags of woe, and even if helpless you would voice by your habiliments the dumb protest of your misery.

This war is no foreign, far-off affair. It is a hideous outbreak of barbarity, the assassination of civilization; it is the sword piercing the breast of a hundred thousand Marys.

Women of high society, for the first time in your lives, perhaps, you have an opportunity to help the world, to bring mad rulers back to reason.

Put on black! Refuse to adorn yourself! Engage in no feastings nor revelry so long as the Red Death stalks.

Monday, August 10, 1914.

WAR AND THE WORKINGMAN

THERE is an excellent article entitled "War and the Interests of Labor," by A. S. Johnson, which appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly*, March, 1914, and has now been reprinted in pamphlet form by the American Association for International Conciliation. Write to this Association for it and you will receive a copy gratis. Address 407 West 117th Street, New York City.

Every laboring man, every wageworker, ought to read it. To show its importance, I give the following digest of its main points:

War, whomsoever it may benefit, is, to the modern industrial worker, stark calamity and nothing more.

Grant that it is necessary or advantageous to this or that person or class, to YOU it means nothing but ruin. The nation may get a larger map, some generals and admirals may get prize money, a sword, and a statue, but all YOU get out of it is pain of body, anguish

of spirit, wounds, disease, death, the distress, and perhaps the dispersal of your family.

The new campaign against militarism is not confined to preachers and Socialists; it is advocated by conservative labor leaders everywhere. For they know that, while OTHERS MAY WIN by war, LABORERS CAN ONLY LOSE.

In former times war paid the common soldier because he got part of the loot from the conquered people. Nowadays he gets nothing but his little wage. When Germany took Alsace and Lorraine from France the German soldiers never gained land or loot.

There is no money for the common soldier even in sea fights, for since 1854 the enemy's goods under a neutral flag are exempt from seizure.

When we conquer another nation, the only way an ordinary soldier can acquire any of its territory is to BUY it. We could do that without fighting. The rules of modern warfare have shut out the private soldier's plunder.

The acquiring of foreign colonies by conquest never advances a laborer one cent; it profits only the property holding class. Did any workingman's wages go up the fraction of a cent because we captured the Philippines?

There is no chance for the ordinary worker to rise, to achieve distinction or emolument in a war these times. The man who enters the army as a private at the beginning of a war comes out a private at its close. It is only the officers from the upper and middle classes who are promoted.

The adventure of war has disappeared. You can travel to-day anywhere on land or sea without joining an army. "It is no longer necessary to go to war in order to see the world or to experience life."

The financial aftermath of war burden rests upon the working class. It is their children who are unschooled, their sick who cannot get hospital service, their families that suffer from epidemics, all because of the war debt.

Worst of all, war is a diversion; it distracts public attention from the workers' efforts to gain their rights. The war spirit is always reactionary. Many a war in history has been engineered by the rulers in order to divert the common people from demanding their rights.

Peace is essential to progress. War means the triumph of the moss-back.

Tuesday, August 11, 1914.

MARK TWAIN'S WAR PRAYER

To me the most blasphemous and shattering bit of news in this war time is the account of the days of prayer appointed by Czar Nicholas, Emperor William, and Emperor Francis Joseph.

The laughable, were it not so hideous, absurdity of an army, a huge organization about to set out upon the devil's most precious business of wreck and ruin, gathering in a church and having the amazing audacity to ask Jesus to bless them and give victory to their arms!

Can you understand how custom and mob-reason can so distort men's intelligence that they pray to Him whose whole plea was righteousness to give His benediction to war, "the sum of all villainies"?

Every inch and atom of His teaching, together with the undivided influence of His person and acts, was against violence.

"Turn the other cheek," He said; and "If a man compel you to go with him a mile, go with him twain." "If one take thy coat, give

him thy cloak also." "They that take the sword shall perish by the sword." "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth."

I do not here contend that Jesus was practical, or even right, nor that the war-lords of Europe are not wiser than He. All the point I make is this: Why in common sense do said warriors insult Him by asking His Blessing, in addition to rejecting wholly His programme of spiritual force only?

Dr. Henry Neumann is authority for the statement that Mark Twain wrote a "War Prayer" a few years before his death. He never published it, as his friends told him it would be a sacrilege.

The article describes a regiment gathered in church to pray for victory before marching forth to battle. As the prayer concludes, a white-robed stranger enters the church and says:

"I have been sent by the Almighty to tell you that He will grant your petition if you still desire it after I have explained to you its full import. You are asking for more than you seem to be aware of. You have prayed aloud for victory over your foes, but listen now to the unspoken part of your prayer, and ask yourselves if this is what you desire."

Then the stranger speaks aloud these implications of their words:

"Oh, Lord, help us to tear the soldiers of the foe to bloody shreds with our shells; help us to cover their smiling fields with the pale forms of their patriot dead; help us to lay waste their humble homes with a hurricane of fire; help us to wring the hearts of their unoffending widows with unavailing grief. Blast their hopes, blight their lives, water their way with their tears."

If we are all to go in for war, and for settling our disputes by war methods, would it not be consistent to discard definitely the name of Christian from our civilization, and frankly avow ourselves as Devil Worshippers?

Wednesday, August 12, 1914.

THE BEGINNINGS OF WORLD UNITY

WHILE the present war is undoubtedly to be a great step preparatory to the downfall of imperialism and the end of the present system of world government, where each nation presumes to keep up an armed force wherewith to settle its disputes, the beginnings of real world government by law are taking place.

The two significant factors in laying the foundations of an intelligent Parliament of Man are Holland and the United States of America.

Since the Jay treaty of 1794, which introduced arbitration into the modern practice of nations, the United States has been a leader in the peaceful settlement of international differences.

Since the meeting of the first peace conference at The Hague in 1899 Holland has been the centre of international development.

By virtue of its position and its traditions

the Dutch city of The Hague has become the unofficial capital of the new world-order.

That new world-order is that nations shall no more appeal to arms in their dealings one with another, but shall bring their case into law and settle it by reason.

The necessary corollary of this, although out of respect for the high-mightinesses of the nations it is not mentioned, is that nations shall cease the practice of keeping up each a huge army and navy.

It is the presence, the existence, of large armaments that was the cause of the European outbreak. The unwillingness of nations to abandon militarism and to agree upon legal arbitration is costing them untold lives and treasure.

Pride, mediævalism, autocracy, and militarism are not mere picturesque stupidity; they contain in themselves the seeds of the destruction of the world.

Through the efforts of Mr. Bryan twenty-one countries (July 24, 1914) have entered into treaties indorsing the peace plan.

While these treaties differ in minor details they are all similar to the agreement between the United States and Holland.

The main thing in all the treaties mentioned is that the two nations in the compact agree

"that all disputes between them, OF EVERY NATURE WHATSOEVER," shall be referred for investigation and report to a permanent international commission.

They agree not to begin hostilities until this commission has made its report.

That is the gist of the matter. No treaty is worth the paper it is written on unless ALL disputes are to be arbitrated. So long as there is a loophole for questions of HONOR just so long will nations have an excuse to continue the abhorrent practice of militarism.

Rulers of the world, you must get together and lay down your arms or you will perish by your own obstinacy.

Only so will the intolerable burden of military preparedness be lifted from the backs of the world's workers.

Only so will the menace of Armageddon, brought on by Chauvinistic madness, be removed.

No permanent peace is possible by preponderance of arms. Peace will come only by unity, the triumph of intelligence over mediævalism.

And quietly but surely the United States of America is laying the foundation of the new programme, the Federation of the World.

Thursday, August 13, 1914.

THE CAUSELESS WAR

THERE have been wars and wars in the history of the world, and most of them have had a reason.

But the present European war has two marked characteristics. First, it bids fair to be the most extensive and the most destructive war ever known.

Second, IT IS ALL ABOUT NOTHING AT ALL.

It is the outflaming of a gunpowder magazine, into which some careless one has dropped a match.

It is as causeless as a free fight among drunken loafers in a mining camp.

Not one of the emperors, diplomats, historians, editors, nor any other learned or high placed man is able to allege any cause which is not absurdly insufficient for so great a combat.

There have been wars of religion, as between Jew and Philistine, Turk and Christian, Protestant and Catholic; and if these

were reprehensible they were at least understandable.

There have been wars of conquest, land-lust, empire-lust; but in this war no nation seeks the territory of another; when peace comes, no matter who whips, the size of states will remain about the same. Germany could not possibly annex Russia nor France, because she would have no use for them, and couldn't assimilate in ten generations what she had swallowed.

There have been race wars, Greek against Barbarian, Rome against Carthage, Russ against Turk, England against France, one Indian tribe against another. But here English, French, and Russian are commingled on one side, and German and the variegated nationalities of Austria on the other.

There have been rebellions, as in our own wars of independence and of secession, as in the present Mexican imbroglio; but in Europe no people is endeavoring to throw off the yoke of its masters, nor of an alien people.

Germany, Austria, Russia, England, and France have sprung into the arena, each screaming out that the other fellow began it, each loaded down with arms and troops, yet claiming a desire only to keep the peace.

They all solemnly swear they are on the

defensive; and they are all trying to strike the first offensive blow.

When the Franco-German war of 1870 was over, the treaty of peace contained not one allusion to the issue over which it was supposed to be fought.

If God were to appear suddenly and say, "Stop! Tell me what it's all about," there would be a riotous clamor of vociferations, but when compelled to state calmly what they were fighting over no two of them could agree upon an issue that was not ridiculous.

Finally, I note that little Montenegro has butted in. Which reminds me of the Irishman who saw several men fighting as he entered a saloon. Going up to the barkeeper, he asked:

"Excuse me, but is this a private fight, or can any one come in?"

Friday, August 14, 1914.

JUST SUPPOSE

JUST suppose, for instance, just only suppose, that one of the European nations had been big enough, wise enough, and brave enough to act the gentleman and the Christian.

That is, suppose France, a highly intellectual and idealistic country, had laid down its arms, abandoned its fortifications, reduced its navy to police proportions, twenty years ago.

Suppose it had said to Germany, "Our race feud is foolish and wicked. It does neither of us any good. Really, we think a lot of you German people, and are anxious to trade with you, to compete with you in art and literature, and to co-operate with you generally to our mutual profit. Loading ourselves down with guns not only burdens us financially but creates a condition where trivial misunderstandings may easily cause war. Hence we disarm. We will trust to the justice and good sense of the German people. We propose to be a peaceable neighbor to you."

Do you think Germany then would have

dared to throw a million warriors into an undefended territory to pillage and kill?

Germany, nor any other nation, could possibly dare to brave the scorn of the civilized world nor the outraged sense of justice among her own people by devastating a peaceful neighbor nation.

Disarmament would make any nation impregnable.

And only by disarming can any nation ever hope to rid itself of the danger of invasion.

The nation that will deliberately become a noncombatant will be the securest nation on the globe.

The nations do not disarm because they are cowardly.

There are two kinds of cowardice—physical and moral. The nations are physically brave—that is, they are willing to starve and to die and to fight, which is the dog or cat level of courage.

But morally, or humanly, they are cowards. They dare not trust each other. They dare not appeal to the world's sense of justice only. They dare not be gentlemen and settle their differences by law.

They live on the brute plane. And the result is horrible: it is infinite waste and madness.

Doubtless no European nation has the courage to step up to the mark of civilization and Christianity. Their brutal eyes are too bloodshot.

BUT WE AMERICANS OUGHT TO DARE. WE OUGHT TO STOP WAR-PREPAREDNESS RIGHT NOW.

We ought to announce to the world: "Seeing how great a calamity has come to Europe from the policy of military preparedness, we hereby declare our country open to any fleet or army that wants to come. And we hereby appeal to the public opinion of the world and to the sense of justice of mankind as our only defense. We do this without stipulating that any other nation do likewise; but we sincerely invite you to join with us in this policy, the only one that can unload from the backs of the people the ever-growing load of war preparation and relieve the people of the fear of that unspeakable devastation which comes with war."

Among the BRUTE-NATIONS of earth can there not be found one MAN-NATION?

But what would we do if a British or German fleet should sail into the disarmed port of New York? Welcome them. Give them a banquet.

Rely upon the public sentiment of England

or Germany. Believe in the spiritual values and forces of men, and not only in brute force.

"He that believeth not shall be damned."

Saturday, August 15, 1914.

KRUPPISM

KRUPPISM is a word coined, I think, by H. G. Wells.

It means the enormous and vicious influence exerted by the manufacturers of arms.

The only way to make war impossible is to stop getting ready for war.

If the nations now in conflict had not possessed billions of dollars' worth of guns and fighting ships they would not now be destroying one another; they would be settling their quarrel some other way.

The building of three battleships a year by the United States not only is a heavy tax upon our producers, but it is dead sure to get us into trouble sooner or later.

Whoever goes about with a chip on his shoulder will by and by find some one to knock it off. It is human nature.

The simplest, plainest, and only rational way to prevent the recurrence of the present cataclysm of folly is to quit making cannon

and gunpowder. If there is nothing to shoot off there will be no shooting.

If the nations of the earth would prohibit the construction of armament they would save millions of lives and millions of millions of dollars. And they could adjudicate their disputes much better than they adjudicate them now.

It has already been declared openly in the German parliament that the Krupps, the greatest of European gun makers, were fomenting race hate in order to sell more goods. Whether this charge be true or not is of small moment; for the very existence of the Krupp factory and of all other war implement factories is a menace to civilized life.

The wretched German, Belgian, and French soldiers are butchering each other now over nothing at all; and for the simple reason that all are armed to the teeth.

To what perfection have we raised the art of wholesale murder! Says Wilhelm Lamszus (in "The Human Slaughter House"):

"Now the experts have, day in, day out, been inventing and constructing new marvels of mechanism. Two hundred and forty bullets and more to the minute! What a marvel of mechanism one of those machine guns is!

"You see it buzzing, and it spurts out bul-

lets thicker than rain can fall. And the automaton licks its lips hungrily and sweeps from right to left. It is pointed on the middle of the body and sprays the whole firing line with one sweep. It is as though Death had scrapped his scythe for old iron; as if nowadays he had graduated as an expert mechanic."

God in Heaven! what a way to decide who shall govern Alsace and Lorraine, or to whom Bosnia shall belong! Why not let the inhabitants of those countries decide for themselves? Or throw dice?

And what a way to appease offended national dignity!

Sooner or later the nations must come to it; that the only way to forefend the abysmal waste and woe of war is to QUIT MAKING GUNS.

Wednesday, August 19, 1914.

THE CREED OF THE WAR MAKERS

We believe in God, but not in a God of love, truth, and justice; we believe in that God who is always on the side of the heaviest battalions.

We reject entirely the teachings of Jesus Christ. He was a good man, but His principles are wholly impractical.

We believe that for a nation to follow Christ's teachings would be national suicide. It is good policy to let the common people worship Christ, but we know better.

We believe it is wrong for one man to kill another in a brawl, but that for a thousand men to murder another thousand men in a national brawl is glorious.

We believe that the best way to settle differences between political states is to destroy commerce, devastate fields, burn cities, slaughter men, invite famine and pestilence, and altogether plunge into crimes which in an individual would be unspeakably inhuman.

We believe the only practical way of main-

taining national honor is to keep the main portion of the men of the nation in arms and idleness, and to expend the chief part of the nation's income in buying cannon and ships, so as to be ready to destroy any other nation that insults our own.

We do not believe in getting together and adjudicating our disputes by law.

We have no confidence in right and justice, nor in any spiritual forces, but only in brute force.

We believe that the common people should be ready at a moment's notice to go out and butcher the common people of another race with whom they have no quarrel whatever. This we call PATRIOTISM. The men ought to sing and prance, and their widows and orphans ought to be happy.

We believe that a few kings and diplomats ought to say when universal slaughter is to begin, and that the common people should not be consulted.

We do not believe that nations should federate together for the benefit of their workers, but that they should stand apart in hostile rivalry for the benefit of their dynasties.

We believe in the devil and all his works, such as race hate, distrust, prejudice, vanity, brutality, and destruction. It is always wiser

to rely on these than on the visionary ideas of Jesus.

Our Te Deum is the roar of artillery, the cries of battle-mad men, and the antiphonal shrieks of women and children.

Our sacrament is the blood of eviscerated and decapitated men mingled with the tears of wives heartbroken.

We believe that all persons who prate of reason, federation, forbearance, and rational ways of international transaction are silly, absurd, and sickly mollycoddles.

To go to church on Sunday and worship Christ according to the ritual is to be commended, but to take seriously what your God says and to try to practise it is unpatriotic, is anarchy and treason.

So mote it be!

Approved August, 1914. Beelzebub, Rex.

Thursday, August 20, 1914.

THE PENALTY OF BEING FEARED

In many respects the German people are the most remarkable among the races of men. They have been world-leaders in the realm of thought. Their powers of research are amazing. Their position in science and art has been at the front. They have shown themselves to be a first-class people in every field of human endeavor. The best students from every land have gone to Germany to learn. Even in manufacture and commerce they have bid fair during the last generation to lead all nations.

Their one colossal mistake has been their war machine. Overspreading the magnificent edifice of German achievement has hung the fateful thundercloud of militarism.

If Germany had been content with the peaceful conquests of the world's schools and markets no power could have stayed her progress.

But the leaders in German politics undertook to make Germany FEARED. The enor-

mous prosperity of a thrifty and ingenious people was sucked dry to feed a huge army and navy.

The result? Any one not blinded with militarism, the great illusion, might have foreseen it. At the first movement of this terrific war machine every country is arrayed against her.

What has made Belgium frantically oppose the kaiser's advance and disbelieve his promises? Fear of Germany.

What has made France arise, to the last man, and go madly into the fray? Fear of Germany.

Why did England and Russian move so quickly to take their stand among her enemies? The same reason.

"What?" asks E. P. Bell, "has nerved, solidified, and armed to the teeth Holland, Denmark, Switzerland, and the Balkan nationalities? Fear that one day something or somebody would start the German avalanche."

THIS IS THE PENALTY FOR MAKING ONE'S SELF FEARED.

If Germany had pursued steadily the constructive and creative arts in which her people were unmistakably the foremost in the world, her undisputed empire in trade, in science, in

all the finer fields of human activity might now have been acknowledged to the ends of the earth.

Her undoing was that hideous war machine of which she was so proud.

Never was a more striking example of the truth of the saying, "They that take the sword shall perish by the sword."

At what stupendous, unthinkable cost do nations learn the very beginnings of wisdom, that the perfection of their destructive power is their curse and burden, and possibly their ultimate destruction.

What is true of Germany is true in hardly less degree of England, France, Russia, Japan, and all other soldier-cursed nations. Their way is unto death.

And it will be the ruin of America also, if she listens to the bullying, big stick, big navy, and bellicose arguments of some of her alleged statesmen.

For a nation to make itself feared is to invite destruction.

Do we want to follow the lead of the insane states of Europe?

Friday, August 21, 1914.

THE OPPORTUNITY OF AMERICA

Now is the time to begin a movement to establish a world federation.

And the United States of America is the nation that ought to take the lead.

Now is the time. Let us not wait for the diplomats to arrange the new order after the war. If they settle the matter conditions probably will be as bad after as they were before the conflict. For they can only move from precedent to precedent; and the precedents are all bad.

What we need is that the earth's people get together by intelligence, humanity, and mutual benefit and establish a new precedent.

What we need is to consider the people—all the people—and to send the interests of dynasties and the "honor" of nations to the scrap heap.

The United States should inaugurate the universal agreement. We are the most powerful of the neutral states.

We have no entanglement with old world jealousies.

We are composed of all races. We are a compound of all humanities.

Our people have no war madness. We want no more territory. We harbor no revenge against any alien country.

Let us, therefore, take the first step. Let us send to each nation this proposal:

"The United States of America asks you to join her in these two things—

"First—Universal disarmament, the reduction of all armies and navies to police proportions.

"The world has been shown that heavy armaments cannot insure peace. The world knows they are an intolerable burden upon human creative work and that they tend to grow constantly more unbearable. Let us reduce them.

"Second—Let us form a world-federation, each nation to be sovereign and independent in its own territory, all international questions to be settled by a body of delegates from all nations.

"We have an American constitution, a British, German, Japanese constitution. It is time to have a world constitution, defining the fundamental rights of each state and providing

for the legal settlement of all misunderstandings.

"America invites you to join a world movement to move out of the realm of violence into the realm of law.

"We, therefore, request you to send a representative of your country to meet with representatives of all other countries in the city of Washington to prepare a plan for the federation of the world, to prevent forever the outbreak of war, to foster international trade, and to increase the prosperity of each nation.

"It is time to discard jealousy and race hate from statecraft and to begin to develop the spirit of world co-operation."

Let us begin now, so that at the conclusion of the present war the plan may be ready to hand!

Saturday, August 22, 1914.

FOR SUCH A TIME AS THIS

THE root cause of the present horrible conditions in Europe is an IDEA.

A delusion, a strong superstition, is at the bottom of the whole affair. That delusion is hundreds of years old. It is as perverted as devil worship, as abhorrent as the sacrifice of children to Moloch, as vicious and dangerous as the most violent form of insanity known in an insane asylum.

It is MILITARISM. It is the belief that armies help a nation to prosperity.

Militarism is based upon the disbelief in the principle of federation. There is no logical alternative to war except federation.

Many of the periodicals in America are decrying the European war; but it is amazing to see how some of these self-same publications urge an increase of armament in the United States.

Do not forget that the ONLY REASON the European states are now engaged in the most wretched war of history is that EACH

WAS PREPARED FOR WAR. You cannot find, with a microscope, any other reason that is not absurdly insufficient.

And the only way to keep out of war is not to be ready to fight. We may not get all the nations of earth to agree to this at once; they are too sunken and enslaved by the illusions of militarism; but ONE BY ONE, BEGINNING WITH THE MOST COURAGEOUS MORALLY, THE NATIONS NOW AT PEACE MUST BEGIN TO LAY DOWN THEIR ARMS.

The world has fifty-three independent governments. Of these nine are at war. Let the forty-four nations at peace get together and form a political union, agreeing to settle all disputes by an international body. Let the beginnings of world-federation be made at once.

No more Hague conventions and pratings of peace by armed states. Let us begin federation now.

The United States of America would be the logical leader in this movement.

At the close of the great war the leading European states will be open to conviction. Their people, if not their rulers, will be ready to abandon the insanity of militarism for the common sense of federation.

For they are now spending $50,000,000 a day, or $18,500,000,000 a year. That will leave them impoverished and tax-ridden, the flower of their manhood destroyed.

Come, Mr. Wilson and Mr. Bryan, make the move. Call the peaceful states together. Inaugurate a world government. Nobody will attack it, for the simple reason that it will attack no one.

Begin! Now is your hour!

You have the unprecedented opportunity to take the first step that shall lead the world out of the horrible pit and the miry clay of war.

It is the twentieth century. It is the era of the people.

Begin! Begin! Begin!

Powerful, rich, above suspicion, with a people almost to a man opposed to war, this nation faces a crisis wherein to begin the long-dreamed-of federation of the world will be its undying glory and wherein to hesitate, TO DICKER AND MANŒUVRE MERELY TO MAKE MONEY OUT OF THE SITUATION, WILL BE ITS SHAME.

Make no mistake. Do not muddle the issue. It is armed rivalry on the one hand and unarmed co-operation on the other. The na-

tions must get together or perish by their own stupidity and egotism.

Rise up, America! Take the lead! For what other nation can?

"Think not with thyself that thou shalt escape, more than all others. For if thou altogether holdest thy peace at this time, then shall there deliverance arise from another place; but thou and thy father's house shall be destroyed: AND WHO KNOWETH WHETHER THOU ART COME TO THE KINGDOM FOR SUCH A TIME AS THIS?"

Tuesday, September 1, 1914.

NOT PEACE BUT FEDERATION

THE word "Peace" is not attractive. Its vibrations are wrong. It suggests a lot of doddering theorists. It connotes weakness, submission to wrong.

War is not necessarily bad. It all depends on what the war is about. The war of the Colonials, for instance, to win independence from England was a good war, wholesome, beneficial. The present European war is inconceivably wicked.

War is only a symptom. To abate the symptom we must cure the disease.

War is a fever, with delirium. It is one of those fevers caused by pus. The pus in this instance is MILITARISM.

Militarism means in plain English that a nation should maintain sufficient armed forces to settle any international dispute BY ITS OWN POWER.

That is the tomfool theory upon which the nations of the world now do business.

Don't get mixed up. Think straight. And you must see:

1. That it is nonsense to talk of disarming or even lessening the burden of military preparedness until you can kill that theory that each nation shall execute justice for itself.

2. That there can never be disarmament except by DELEGATING the settling of disputes to some central body.

3. AND THAT THE OPPOSITE OF WAR IS NOT PEACE, BUT FEDERATION.

In a civilized city individuals are not allowed to fight out their differences, nor even to carry pistols or bowie-knives wherewith to be ready to fight.

It is the very essence, juice and gist of civilization that individuals bring their quarrels into a court.

This does not deny the right to quarrel. You and I may fight all we please. The only point is that we may not fight like street urchins, Indians, or savages, but must take our question into a tribunal.

What is true of individuals is true of nations. Where two nations go to war there is rank mediævalism or savagery.

The only possible remedy is for the nations

to federate, to get together and agree that all quarrels shall be settled in court and by law.

This carries with it a corollary, that NO NATION SHALL BE ALLOWED TO MAINTAIN AN ARMY AND NAVY SO THAT IT SHALL BE READY FOR WAR.

And that the only armed force on earth shall be under the direction of the central court.

This is just plain horse sense. And it is the only conceivable way to avoid future wars.

The opposite to war, therefore, is not peace. It is federation. War is barbaric craziness; federation is civilized intelligence.

Only by federation is the whole world pledged to the independence and prosperity of each of the states thereof.

Peace is millennial, Utopian. FEDERATION IS PRACTICAL; IT CAN BE PUT INTO EFFECT RIGHT NOW.

Peace may be dishonorable. Federation is honorable to the highest degree.

Federation mixes no confusing issues into the main question. In federation each nation may do as it pleases in its own territory. It can have a monarchy or a republic. It can enjoy rebellions, strikes, and uprisings.

Only it cannot attack another nation. That the world will attend to.

Just as the Jones family may fight all they wish with one another in their own yard, but the state prohibits them from going over and beating up the Smiths.

Every treaty of peace is "a scrap of paper" so long as there is no federation, so long as each state maintains armies and forts.

There is no truth so important as this in the whole realm of God's truth.

Thursday, September 3, 1914.

THE MOTHER

THE war lord emperor sat in his tent surrounded by his generals. Reports were coming in every few moments from the gigantic battle, where three million men were wrestling along a two-hundred mile line.

The air was charged with the voltage of great events. The emperor's brow was dark. He was nervous. His words were sharp and rasping. He would sit for tense intervals in silence.

Suddenly he said, "What is that noise? Go and see."

An aid saluted, disappeared, returned in a little while and announced, "It is a woman, your majesty. For some reason the guards will not touch her. She demands to see you."

"Bring her here."

The woman was led in. She was of peasant type, not uncomely. Her clothes were tattered, her hair dishevelled, her eyes were of fire and fever.

"Who are you?" said the emperor brusquely.

"I am a mother."

"What are you doing here?"

"I seek my boy."

"What do you mean? Go on; tell your story. Be brief."

"I am a mother," said the woman, standing erect and looking fearlessly in his eye. "They took away my boy, my Karl. I want him. That is all."

After a moment she continued: "I live in the country, by Pasing, in Bavaria. My man died just after Karl was born. I kept my child, worked for him, brought him up to be a man. Then they came and took him to the war.

"When he was gone, I could not stand it. I sat for days with my head in my hands—so. My heart broke. My brain was burning.

"So I said, 'I will go to the kaiser and ask him for my boy. He has so many—millions of them, like the stars—he can spare one. He is all I have. I will go. They can but shoot me. Better dead than as I am.'

"I had no money. I walked all the way. I went through towns; all gave me food because I am a mother. Farmers gave me rides on their carts when they knew I was a mother.

"Thieves and robbers took me, but they let me go because I am a mother.

"Wolves came at me in the forests, but would not attack me, for I am a mother.

"The storms did not hurt me, the lightnings did not strike me, a mother.

"When I came to camps of soldiers, they let me pass, for when they challenged me I said, 'I am a mother, and I seek my boy.'

"I walked through battlefields. No bullets would strike a mother.

"I came to your tent; your guards would not lay hands on me when I told them I was a mother, that I came to see my kaiser to get my boy.

"He has no quarrel with the Frenchmen and the English. He has no wish to kill them. He only wants to tend our land and live by me.

"They shoot and kill, and I do not know what it is all about. I want my boy. That is all I know.

"You had a mother, highness. You would know how she feels when she cannot find you and you may be lying dead in some field.

"Give me my boy."

There was a brief silence. One of the generals made as if to speak. The war lord stayed him with a gesture. Then he said:

"Go and find this woman's son. Let it be an imperial order that he go back with her and till his land. At once! And may God in heaven not forget this one thing I do!"

Friday, September 4, 1914.

VOTING FOR WAR

THE one thing to keep in mind about this war is that the people have had nothing to do with it, except the men to march out and be shot and the women to stay at home and hunger.

War was declared by a small group of German officials, Russian, Austrian, English, and French officials. They decided to settle their issues by slaughtering farmers, clerks, and storekeepers. They never asked these small fry what they might think about it. The matter was decided in a closed room. The word went out, and several million working folk shouldered muskets and began to maim and massacre each other.

The people who are lying in heaps in France, mangled and dead under the ghastly moonlight, had no idea what it was all about.

A company of Germans faces a company of Frenchmen, and they begin with rifles and rapid-fire guns to slay. Yet neither group of men have any quarrel with the other. Some-

body somewhere has given the signal to kill, and they proceed to kill.

Of the sixty millions or so of Germans it is reasonably certain that not one million wanted war. The same is true relatively in Russia, France, England, and Austria.

The power to declare war, in all countries, is lodged in the hands of a few. This is true even in the United States.

It would seem that if ever there is a question vitally affecting every human being in a nation it is whether that nation shall go to war with another.

THEREFORE NO WAR SHOULD BE DECLARED EXCEPT BY A VOTE OF THE WHOLE PEOPLE.

The men who are to do the dying in battle, who are to suffer from wounds, and who are to pay the bills afterward, ought to have the privilege of saying whether or not war shall be declared.

The women also, who bear the brunt of the hardships, who must rear the orphaned children and look after the neglected shops and crops, surely ought to have their say.

But if all concerned were allowed to vote it is safe to say there would be no more wars nor military preparedness.

No common people ever wanted war at the

beginning. After hostilities have begun national prejudices are aroused and the popular imagination is fired by the machinery of militarism, the people, helpless and powerless to resist, fall in and go to hacking foreigners because they don't know what else to do.

This whole titanic struggle is a phase in the evolution of democracy. It is a clear proof that autocratic government resting upon the army and navy, upon kings, princes, spies, and police, is absolutely unworkable.

The steps of destiny are fearful. Men learn their lessons in monstrous fashion. Yet surely the millions marching on the fields today are marching TOWARD DEMOCRACY.

Suppose the question had been put to the peoples of Europe:

"Shall we settle the Slav-German issue and the French-German and English-German rivalry by murdering a million men, ruining business, and destroying billions of dollars' worth of property?"

Is there any doubt how the vote would have gone?

Saturday, September 5, 1914.

A WORLD PRAYER

PRESIDENT WILSON has issued a proclamation calling upon the people of the United States to pray for the peace of Europe, and setting the day of Sunday, October 4, as the date for such concerted petition.

For the assistance of any who may care to use it, I submit the following Prayer for the World:

Almighty God, Thou are He that ruleth the heavens, the earth, and the hearts of men.

Forgive the sins of pride, of hatred, and of anger, of which the world is guilty.

Teach us to love justice and not power, service and not rule, helpfulness and not rivalry.

Enlighten the minds of the people, so that they will not allow the few to dispose of the lives of the many.

Bring about the triumph of government by

the people, of the people, and for the people all over the earth.

Cure the curse of class and caste and establish in nations' councils the value of every human soul.

Rebuke and remove them that advise war, glory in war, and make instruments for war.

Hasten the day of world federation and co-operation.

May there speedily be but one army and one navy, to keep the world peace, and may all nations ground arms.

Reveal to men that the enfeebling or the destruction of one nation works harm to all, and that the prosperity of one is the prosperity of all.

Destroy race hatred and revenge, and teach the nations to esteem each other.

So bring home to men's bosoms the crime, the folly, and the waste of war that they may allow no nation to prepare for it.

May men obey always and everywhere Thy command, "Thou shalt not kill!"

Remove those dead ideas and lifeless old beliefs that chain the world to the stupidity of militarism.

Destroy all passions that separate nations, and bring them into mutual love.

Comfort and bless the wounded and sick,

the widows and orphans, the ruined and desolate, victims of the world's great crime.

Forgive this wicked and ignorant world, Almighty God, end soon this war, and so lead us into common sense that we shall never have another.

Let humanity and justice so prevail that all men and nations everywhere shall work for and with each other; then

> . . . . . "Shall all men's good
> Be each man's rule, and universal peace
> Lie like a shaft of light across the land,
> And like a lane of beams athwart the sea,
> Thro' all the circle of the golden year."

Thursday, September 10, 1914.

THE BUGHAUS IDEA

ONCE upon a time there was a planet as thickly populated as our own. They had nations and governments, as we have.

But the most of the people were insane. There were a few sane persons, who were kept locked up in asylums.

One day two nations decided to go to war. They had a long series of disputes, extending over many years; they thoroughly hated one another, each had a large army spoiling for a fight, and war was about due.

Just as they were ready to come to grips Prime Minister Wildhead, who had the reputation of being the craziest man in the world, called a meeting of the two governmental cabinets; they met at Bughaus, and Wildhead laid a proposition before them, as follows:

"We two nations," he said, winking slyly at M. Batzin Belfry, the other premier, "are about to go to war. That means that we will butcher some hundred thousand men, ruin our commerce, give business a setback that

will be felt for fifty years, destroy property, make myriads of widows and orphans, and so on. It will be hard on us both, as war is usually as disastrous to the victor as to the vanquished.

"After we get done, we will call a number of diplomats together and arrange a treaty of peace.

"I SUGGEST, THEREFORE, THAT WE DRAW UP A TREATY OF PEACE NOW, AND SAVE ALL THE WAR WASTE."

"Fine!" said M. Batzin Belfry.

"Why hasn't anybody thought of that before?" shouted King Jinks.

"Of course," continued Wildhead, "we cannot hope to get along without killing somebody. We all feel the need of adventure, of tearing loose once in a while and smashing things. That is human nature. We must not be Utopian dreamers.

"Patriotism cannot subsist on a vegetarian diet. The people must have blood. Our cannibalistic instincts must be sated.

"Hence I propose that each country select, say, 10,000 persons. And instead of the strong, healthy, and fit men of each nation, let us pick out the feeble, diseased, beggared, and deficient, the tramps and prisoners, the

harlots and crooks, as being the least useful members of the state. We will collect all these in a great field and let our soldiers shoot them down with their guns and hack them to death with their swords.

"We will make a regular exhibition of it, erect a grandstand and charge a dollar a seat. The money can go to our treasuries."

All applauded. The motion was put. But one diplomat arose and remarked:

"Excuse me, gentlemen, but I would like to inquire what our quarrel is about?"

King Jinks arose in wrath. "That man is sane!" he shouted. "Let him be arrested and confined in a sane asylum!"

This was done.

The two nations then proceeded to their grand international Killfest, to the delight and entertainment of the whole populace.

The experiment was so successful that it was decided to have a Killfest regularly every ten years, to relieve the congested population, to give the soldier boys something to look forward to, and to feed properly the noble sentiment of patriotism.

Friday, September 11, 1914.

PATRIOTISM AND IDIOTISM

It is time to take up anew the word "patriotism" and examine it closely.

There is much confusion about love of one's country, and it is confusion of the most dangerous kind, because it concerns one of the great fundamental human emotions. Most of the crimes of men and nations arise from wrong ideas about simple, essential things, such as love, truth, duty, and—patriotism.

On the one hand patriotism is held up as the noblest of sentiments. Men are expected to die for it, women to suffer all manner of hardships for it. We erect monuments to patriots, pension them, and strike medals for them.

Yet Tolstoy regarded patriotism as a curse. Dr. Johnson defined the word in his dictionary as "the last refuge of a scoundrel."

Also patriotism is the only passion that can induce a regiment of German laborers and a regiment of French laborers to rush at each

other, kill and maim with ferocity, when all the while they haven't the slightest idea what they are fighting about, have no animosity toward each other, and in fact never saw each other before.

We naturally conclude there must be something bad in it; also that it must mean something good.

Let us separate the good from the bad. Let us call the good patriotism. Let us call the bad idiotism.

Patriotism, meaning a love for and a devotion to one's country, a preference for its people and customs, and a just pride in its excellences, is undoubtedly a good thing. It is family pride on a large scale. And John Smith may be pardoned for feeling elated over the riches of the Smith men and the beauty of the Smith women.

But a Frenchman said that all our vices are our virtues carried to excess. Hence, when John Smith carries his family devotion to such an extent, in the Kentucky mountains, for instance, that he lies in wait to shoot the Joneses, then what was a virtue becomes a vice.

So when German patriotism takes the form of fear and jealousy toward Frenchmen, Rus-

sians, or English, and roars to kill and destroy, instead of expressing itself in friendly rivalry in the fields of trade, of learning, and of commerce, that is idiotism, a perversion of patriotism, and is as diabolical as any passion that ever seethed in a human breast.

When English hate Germans, or Americans hate Japanese, or any race seeks to slaughter another, then patriotism is nothing but rank savage blood-lust clothed in the livery of heaven.

The only way to make patriotism beautiful and helpful is to do away with armaments, stop the making of huge cannon, dreadnoughts and fortifications, and for the world, "the common sense of all," to compel nations to a good-natured rivalry under terms of civilization.

This can only be done by some form of world agreement. So long as any one nation is permitted to arm itself and execute its bandit will for itself, patriotism will always be tinged with savage clan-craziness.

Personal self-respect does not imply that a man carry a rifle in the streets to secure justice for himself. National self-respect does not imply that each nation be so armed as to be ready to right its own wrongs.

There can be no intelligent, wholesome patriotism until we get rid of militarism.

So long as we have no world-government, we shall have—idiotism.

Saturday, September 12, 1914.

EXPLODED IDEAS

Along with the exploded shells, cracked forts, and burst human skulls in the wake of the iron tread of Europe's armies you may find some exploded, cracked, and burst ideas which once were very imposing — to wit, namely:

That the surest guaranty of peace is to maintain for each nation a large army. Yet alas! the nations will probably pick up the pieces of this wrecked idea, patch it together, and continue using it. People cling to nothing as they cling to a worn-out and absurd belief.

That human nature in one country is different from that in another. The Germans expected the French to run, the Austrians expected the Russians to run; each nation despised the fighting qualities of the other; all were equally brave.

That trained diplomats can guide a country's destiny better than can the common people. This is a diplomats' war. Did the plain folks ever mess things up worse?

That humanity has progressed too far to permit another war.

That Christianity—ditto.

That the commercial interests are so complex and international that business men will not allow war.

That bankers will or can stop war.

That killing machines have become so terrific that war is impossible.

That the laborers of the civilized world are too enlightened to go to war or to submit to the burden of military preparedness.

That socialism has become too powerful to allow war.

That war nowadays is more "civilized" than it used to be, and that the atrocities of former times cannot occur now. Both sides allege instances of barbarities. Zeppelins drop bombs on peaceful cities. Red Cross nurses are shot. Hospitals are shelled. Dum-dum bullets are used. Noncombatant towns are razed. Soldiers are guilty of appalling brutalities, now as ever in the red rage of battle.

That the intermarriage of European royal families will secure peace.

That a treaty is more than "a scrap of paper," so long as each nation is to right its own wrongs.

That it is better for a people to trust in the lords of autocracy than in the leaders of democracy.

The one great idea which alone can save the world from the folly of war in the future is world-wide federation and co-operation, with ONE army and navy to keep the peace, and not a separate armed force for each patch of ground.

Tuesday, September 15, 1914.

WAR AND AUTOCRACY

War is the child of autocracy. An autocracy is where a few persons, a class or clique, control a nation, and where national decisions are not put to a vote of the people.

There are few governments entirely autocratic. All of them have parliaments chosen, in part at least, by the populace.

But all nations are autocratic when it comes to war. Even in the United States the president and congress can declare war without asking permission of the electorate.

The permanent cure of war, then, is the growth of democracy.

The possibility and probability of war is the direct outcome of the idea that the people are not competent to decide upon national issues, but need a superior class to attend to this for them.

As the world emerges from barbarism there clings to it a dark mass of ignorance and timid fear, which is encouraged and kept up by the classes who profit by it.

The greatest clog on progress is the fear of democracy, the notion that the people need checks, need to be guarded against. Hence nations have their upper classes, nobles, royal families, privileged lords, and entailed authorities. The king, the noble, the soldier, and the politician are supposed to tell the people what to do.

An army is the organized ignorance, prejudice, and blind passion of the common folk, directed by some shrewd dominating class.

If the people were intelligent and self-governing, accustomed to deliberate and decide upon state matters for themselves, they would never use mutual slaughter as a means of settling international questions.

As it is now, a few counsellors and the king meet in a secret chamber and vote to make war. Whereupon the poor clerks, farmers, shopkeepers, and laborers, who know nothing whatever about the matter, and haven't the least thing in the world against the common people of the neighbor nation, shoulder their muskets, and march forth singing hymns and killing and maiming ferociously.

When all is over the common people go back home and pay the bills.

War is the tax laid upon the stupidity of the masses. They are too ignorant to run

their own politics, too superstitious and habit-chained to get rid of the classes that ride them; they are dazzled by royalty, debauched by a perverted patriotism; and in consequence they are periodically cursed with the war plague.

It is significant that even in a republic the moment war breaks out all semblance of democracy ceases; the imperator, the dictator appears; martial law, which is unlimited absolutism, is declared, and autocracy is supreme.

At bottom this present world struggle is but a phase of the rise of democracy, for it demonstrates with horrible emphasis the price of autocracy.

This war is completing the task the French Revolution began.

Wednesday, September 16, 1914.

THE ONLY WAY

On March 22, 1905, the German kaiser made a speech at Bremen in which he described the German Empire as "a quiet, honest, and peaceful neighbor," adding that "if ever history should come to speak of a German world-wide empire, or a world-wide dominion of Hohenzollerns, this empire, this dominion, would have been founded upon conquests gained not by the sword, but by the mutual confidence of those nations which press toward the same goal." I quote from the *Dial's* review of Sir Thomas Hardy's book "Thirty Years."

Why did not the world believe the kaiser? Why have we never taken seriously his protestations that his chief desire was peace, his boast that he was the peacemaker of Europe? Simply because WHILE TALKING PEACE HIS BELT WAS FULL OF PISTOLS. The whole German population was being drilled to fight. The Krupp gun works were

turning out death machines daily. The ship yards groaned with naval preparations.

When the Czar of Russia called The Hague peace conference, why was the proposal received with somewhat of scorn, and why did the conference amount to but little? BECAUSE RUSSIA'S HANDS WERE BUSY INCREASING HER MILITARY MACHINE EVEN WHILE HER MOUTH SPOKE WORDS OF AMITY.

When a recent prime minister of England advocated a reduction of armaments all around, why was his proposition received lightly? BECAUSE WHILE HE SPOKE ENGLAND CEASED NOT TO INCREASE THE NUMBER OF HER DREADNOUGHTS.

And so on.

Mark this: that when the present conflict is over, and the treaty drawn up, that treaty will be of no avail, another war may break out any time, the people of Europe will be again and again decimated by battles, unless some provision is made that the individual nations lay down their arms, reduce their navies, disband their armies, AND PLACE THE MATTER OF NATIONAL DEFENSE IN THE HANDS OF ONE

ARMED FORCE INSTEAD OF ONE FOR EACH NATION.

So long as national armaments exist there can possibly be no lasting peace.

It is the existence of the war machine that brings war.

To hold peace meetings in the United States, WITHOUT FIRST DISARMING, is cant and hypocrisy.

To hold Hague conferences, unless the participants agree to ground arms, is hypocrisy, is futile.

There is BUT ONE guaranty against war. There is BUT ONE way to save the world from periodical lapses into barbaric slaughter. There is BUT ONE way to relieve the people of the exhausting drain of militarism.

And that way is for each nation to give up its weapons.

There is BUT ONE way to govern a world, and that is by FEDERATION.

It is not a matter of "changing human nature," of "the millennium," and of "attempting the impossible." It is a question of doing the practical, intelligent, common-sense thing right now; and that is for the non-fighting nations of earth to federate at once, led by the United States, and to invite the fighting na-

tions to come in when they get through with their conflict.

Vice-President Marshall, in a recent interview in Chicago, gave forth some genuine corn-fed philosophy. "I may not live to see it, but you young men will," he said. "I believe you will see international tribunals settle differences between nations and international police enforce their laws. There is no difference between national honor and individual honor. I never knew a man who carried a revolver who sooner or later didn't have a real or fancied insult."

Thursday, September 17, 1914.

THE FINAL ARBITER

"The final arbiter," as the President of the United States said to the Emperor of Germany, is "the opinion of mankind."

When you all get through slaying and burning, gentlemen of Europe, when your cannon have belched their last argument and the guns of your fleets have made their last red speech, when your armies have proved your case with their final charge, and when one of your two contesting forces lies prone and bleeding, then you will have to appear before the judge, you, both conqueror and conquered, will have to justify your deeds before that august and fateful "opinion of mankind," who shall give to each his penalty or his reward.

Because you speak and the multitude obeys, because the people by companies of hundreds and of thousands march to do your bidding, do not be deceived, O Magnificencies! Before those myriads you must appear. Theirs is the ultimate tribunal.

You talk of God. You appeal to His favor and pretend to do His will. Do you know where God is?

He sits not, an oriental satrap, upon the throne of the spheres; He is down among the swarms of men.

The tinsel of your royal courts is but absurd to Him in whose treasury worlds are but as dust. He laughs at your greatness. He is among those homes you have set on fire and whose young men you have heaped in the ditches of retreat.

Those you call cannon-fodder are His sons.

Some day they will decide.

They will find out why peaceful noncombatants were stood against the wall and shot, why women were violated, why towns were ruined, why the weak were mutilated and the defenseless tortured; they will judge upon whom rests the blame of this hell-storm of beast ferocity that has swept away the civilization of Europe; and they, the People, whose other name is God, they will say to this man: "Enter thou into thy reward," and to that man, "Depart from me, you cursed, into everlasting fire."

The Day of Judgment is the Day of the People.

God is not on the side of the heaviest bat-

talions; God is on the side of the ultimate Public Opinion.

Who is the Son of God? He is the People.

"Be wise now, therefore, oh, ye kings; be instructed, ye judges of the earth. Kiss the Son, lest he be angry, and ye perish from the way, when His wrath is kindled but a little!"

Friday, September 18, 1914.

RHEIMS

How is the beautiful fallen! The joy of the eye and the wonder of the heart demolished, ground into the dirt by the boorish heel!

The destruction of human life is frightful enough, but viewed from the angle of history and posterity it has its alleviation, in that all men must die, and war but wholesales and hastens the inevitable. In ten years from now as many men of the two armies would have died natural deaths as are slaughtered in battle.

But not so with the cathedral. It can never be replaced. It has but one epoch; and when gone is gone forevermore.

The supreme thing of beauty among all of man's handiwork, the Gothic cathedral is a joy forever. Centuries, not years, are hers. The more the gray arms of age envelop her the more beautiful she becomes. "Age cannot wither her, nor custom stale her infinite variety." A thousand years render her more

charming than when she stood snow-white, new from the builders' hands.

Nothing reveals the irredeemable barbarity of war so much as the shelling of the Cathedral of Rheims. If there is one point upon which civilized and cultured people are supposed to differ from ancient Huns and Vandals, it is their regard for the works of genius.

To batter down this hoary stone-dream was an act of spiteful savagery equal to that of the Gauls who knocked the noses off all the statues they found in Rome.

It is not France that is wounded by this amazing act of vandalism: it is the whole world; it is civilization itself. For the Gothic churches no more belong to any one church or state, but to mankind.

No price can pay for this. All the money in the world cannot replace it. For the loveliest thing about it was the clustered years, the brooding centuries. If its replica should be moulded of solid gold and set with all the gems of India it would be cheap and gaudy compared to the venerable stones now broken.

The world of art and culture, all that stratum of humanity above the ignorant and brutish, is stricken with horror at this new proof of the utter viciousness of war.

Again I say that, more than by the killing

of men, militarism has shown, by the violation of this sweet Rose of the World, its hideous heart.

Some means should be found to ascertain the name of the military bandit who was responsible for the order to train guns upon the cathedral, that his name may be pilloried forever in special infamy along with the names of Cain, of Judas, and of Nero.

The whole earth mourns the loss of Rheims as they that weep for their first born.

Bitter are the hearts and salt the eyes of all men everywhere as they turn to God and cry:

"How long, O Lord, how long!"

Wednesday, September 23, 1914.

MISTAKEN APOSTLES OF PEACE

THERE is an enormous force of public sentiment in the United States in favor of peace. It is consequently an easy matter to organize movements everybody will join, arrange mass meetings everybody will attend, and prepare resolutions everybody will sign.

It is very natural, also, that so vast a sentiment should be eagerly grasped by the notoriety seekers. I already know of fifteen or twenty gentlemen and ladies who are willing to head the Smith peace movement or Jones's international peace programme.

You can get any amount of oratory turned on at a moment's notice denouncing war and whooping it up for the Dove.

These might all be harmless enough, but when they take the direction of heckling the President, secretary of state, and congress, and urging them to all sorts of erratic and premature moves they become a nuisance.

Everybody deplores the war in Europe. Everybody in this country wants peace.

These statements are so true they are platitudes. Why shriek them?

The only proposals for peace that mean anything, that are not mere sentimental guff, are THOSE WHICH INCLUDE DOING AWAY WITH THE THINGS THAT CAUSE WAR. All else is but prunello.

Therefore it is with pleasure that I hear of the resolutions passed the other day by the Baptist Missionary Society. Some one there had horse sense. He proposed and it was adopted that the society shall exert its influence in favor of a peace which

"Shall seek to promote and permanently conserve the welfare of all nations now engaged in war and of the world at large, and shall involve a federation of nations with an international court and international army and navy, with disarmament of the several nations of the federation and the cessation of the manufacture of the implements of warfare except by national government under control of the international federation."

In this practical and excellent resolve you will find the fundamental essentials not merely to peace, but to ANY SORT OF STABLE CIVILIZATION AND INTELLIGENT WELT-POLITIK.

These essentials, and they cannot be too often reiterated, are:

1. THE FEDERATION OF THE NATIONS.

2. ONE CENTRAL COURT FOR SETTLING INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES.

3. ONE ARMY AND ONE NAVY UNDER THE COMMAND OF SAID COURT.

4. THE DISARMAMENT OF THE INDIVIDUAL NATIONS.

5. AND THE CESSATION OF THE MAKING OF IMPLEMENTS OF WAR.

Yelling for peace is cheap. But whoever assists anywhere in any small corner of the earth the bringing to pass of those five things is boosting the world toward intelligent civilization.

Thursday, September 24, 1914.

IN THE MEANWHILE

THEODORE ROOSEVELT is an ex-president of the United States and a man of most distinguished attainments. What he writes should be considered with respectful attention.

Also what he writes will doubtless exert a profound and wide effect upon our citizenship. It is for this reason that I call attention to a recent article of his in *The Outlook,* which has been extensively quoted by newspapers all over the country.

The article is a thoughtful, able plea for precisely that state of things that caused the present war and will go on causing war forever until it be abandoned.

In a nutshell, he says that while peace is desirable, and while international federation, with armed force behind the international court, and there only, will eventually come, yet IN THE MEANWHILE it behooves every nation, and the U. S. A. in particular, so to arm itself as to be able to secure justice for itself.

All mankind probably favors world-federation and the elimination of war. Where the two systems of thought differ is in what is a nation's duty IN THE MEANWHILE.

Mr. Roosevelt stands for that policy which holds that in the meanwhile it is a nation's duty to keep up a big army and navy. As if to say that until law is respected and courts established in a mining town it is every man's duty to go around with an automatic revolver.

The argument is speciously convincing. It sounds "manly" and heroic. But it is exactly the argument that has caused all the wars of the world, that has impeded progress, and that is of the utmost danger.

I meet it with flat denial. I take my stand exactly upon the policy of Jesus. I contend that the policy of "force behind righteousness" has caused all the deviltry of nations, for the simple reason that each nation easily persuades itself that IT is the righteous one.

And I insist that the thing to do in the meanwhile is not to build up a huge army and navy, but to use the money such a programme would take for the purpose of building up a federation of the nations. All the nations of the western continent and many of the others would readily join such a union if it were actively urged. When they get done wres-

tling with each other in Europe, even those nations will gladly enter such a federation.

But if IN THE MEANWHILE each nation persists in individual militarism no such federation is possible.

Nothing can save the world but a frank acknowledgment of the power of public opinion and a reliance upon the spiritual forces of righteousness.

It takes a thousand times more courage to disarm and appeal to the justice of mankind than it does to arm and appeal to force. Zapata and Villa are acting upon Mr. Roosevelt's programme.

In a western town where each man totes his own gun the safest and the most influential man is the one who has no weapon.

It is mighty hard to see this principle of non-retaliation. We are blinded by the inherited war-lust of centuries. We are still far from understanding the enormous power in a man who, like Jesus or Socrates, will calmly yield up his life rather than take the sword. Even Christian churches dare not openly preach this.

But I believe it. And I believe to-day that nothing could secure the leadership of the world to the United States so well as definitely to discard the principle of righting its own

wrongs and defending its own honor by force of arms, and to be the first of the nations to lay aside its weapons and appeal to the universal judgment of mankind.

This or that bully may threaten us, but in the end the spiritual force of our intelligent course would be a better defense than cannon.

The world was amazed when Machiavelli lucidly stated the utter immorality of statecraft. It was shocked at the big stick philosophy of Nietzsche. Yet these writers but laid bare the fact that statecraft wholly disregarded ethics, was beastly and pagan. They despised the principles of Christianity. They exposed the hypocrisy of nations publicly worshipping Jesus and actually following Attila and Tamerlane.

I believe Mr. Roosevelt to be wholly wrong and his ideas to be thoroughly vicious on this matter.

I believe it the duty of this country (1) to take immediate steps toward federating with all nations willing to come in, and (2) in the meanwhile to reduce its armed force to a minimum as an evidence of good faith.

Unless some strong nation, such as ours, does precisely this, there is no possible hope for the abatement of war.

IN THE MEANWHILE I BELIEVE THE NATION THAT WILL ACT NATIONALLY AS A GENTLEMAN AND CHRISTIAN AND A SAGE WOULD ACT PERSONALLY WILL ACCOMPLISH MOST FOR THE WORLD.

Europe has done exactly what Mr. Roosevelt urges; it has defended its "honor," it has worshipped the big stick, and it is now hell-bent for bankruptcy, slaughtering its sons in Berserker madness. Shall we get into that kind of a game?

Friday, September 25, 1914.

CHINA, FOR INSTANCE

PERHAPS a few words on China may not be out of order. That country constitutes a several-thousand-years-long argument for non-resistance. If those who clamor for a big army and navy as the only means of guaranteeing the safety of a nation will not listen to reason, perhaps they will look at so tremendous a fact as China.

It is the oldest, or one of the oldest, countries on earth. It has been longest in continuous independence and self-government. And it has never fought back.

Minister Wu, while representing China in the United States, said (I follow Mr. A. W. Wright's pamphlet on "War's Folly and Futility") that China was for forty-five centuries without a soldier.

We may look down upon the civilization of the Chinese; such is the ingrained egotism of the white race; but the basis of our contempt seems to be that the Chinese are lacking in the "military virtues"; that is, they are not

sea robbers like the Anglo-Saxons, conceited Nietzscheans like the Germans, or wild Chauvinists like the French. All they want is to work and mind their own business.

Nevertheless they have a civilization that seems to suit them. And the point is that while the empires of Cæsar, Charlemagne, and Napoleon rose, burst like a rocket, and fell, these orientals have persisted. The war empires of Europe, such as Spain, have rotted and dropped. China is doing business at the old stand.

China has been attacked and invaded. Their enemies have perished. Those people that would not fight have lived on.

By various hostile nations China has suffered some, but she never had to bear the infinitely greater suffering which military nations had to bear on account of their vast armaments and frequent conflicts.

China was always able to pay as she went, till the great powers demanded their enormous indemnity at the close of the Boxer uprising. Till then she had no public debt. Compare her treasury situation with that of the "progressive" nations.

The "Powers" have often discussed the partition of China. Why haven't they fallen upon her and devoured her? They have

made war upon and annexed other territories.

The simple reason is that China would not fight. The nation that will not fight is irresistible.

The Yellow Peril is nonsense. There is no peril from a people like the Chinese. The only peril is from those nations whc are under "the great illusion."

"The great illusion" is that to maintain a nation or race and its institutions it is necessary to keep up military preparedness. That is so plausible, as plausible as the devil himself, from whom, as the "prince of this world," the argument comes.

It really does seem self-evident that any nation that will disarm will speedily be devoured by its bellicose neighbors. It looks as plain as a pikestaff.

But it's a lie. Jesus, whom the war-crazed nations profess to worship, punctured that bubble. When he said "Return good for evil," and "Turn the other cheek," it was not mollycoddle Sunday school talk. It was the law of nations.

Look at China!

Monday, September 28, 1914.

THE WAR OF THE TWO PHILOSOPHIES

BACK of the great armies at grips in Europe are two great ideas, two systems of philosophy, duelling to the death.

Always material events are but symbols of invisible events.

On the one hand is that system of thought of which Jesus is the central figure; its main theme is co-operation. On the other hand is that philosophy which carries the deadly struggle for existence, with its law of "the survival of the fittest," over from brute into human affairs; its main theme is competition.

The first thought-system condemns physical force and insists upon certain spiritual qualities as the best means for success. It says that the people who are just, kind, helpful, clean, industrious, will eventually triumph; their states will prosper, their business will outdo the business of their rivals, and their stock will outbreed all others.

It declares that this is so surely the will of

God that all resort to material force is not only useless but disadvantageous. Therefore it teaches to resist not evil, not to punish, not to hurt or kill, and not to defend one's self.

Unfortunately the professed leaders of Christianity have not dared to advocate this full platform. They have not only hemmed and hawed, but often have openly preached punishment and war.

The other philosophy is more honest. Scientifically it is based on evolution, its error being its failure to see that the laws of the social evolution of thinking beings are not those of unthinking beasts.

Its great apostles were Nietzsche and Treitschke, who openly derided Christianity and proclaimed the strong man. The powerful, healthy, and prosperous should crush out the weak. Progress is to be by the inbreeding of the strong. Hang the criminal, eliminate the unfit, let the supermen alone rule and propagate.

The way to deal with lawbreakers, according to this theory, is to imprison, hurt, and kill. To advance a nation, increase its destructive power, make it feared.

The curious part of the matter is that the professedly Christian peoples have done business precisely on this programme. The

church has been recreant to its trust, preaching peace yet supporting a system under which peace is not possible, preaching virtue yet supporting economic systems where virtue is at a discount.

The real principles of Christianity, however, have not ceased to work like leaven, building up a gigantic co-operative commerce, advancing democracies, making federations, and demonstrating the enormous constructive force of the Christian ideal. It has done this in spite of the "great men," the leaders and statesmen. It has done it by slow infiltration into the minds of the common people.

The present war is the natural outcome of those ideas of pride and egoism, of punishment, retaliation, and revenge, of the mailed hand and the big stick.

Sooner or later this philosophy must die all over the earth, for all error is doomed. Sooner or later the nations will federate and work for mutual help. Sooner or later the whole abominable short-sightedness of punishment will drop from our laws and courts, and we shall undertake the business of preventing crime by removing unjust conditions, and of curing criminals by judicious aid.

Tuesday, September 29, 1914.

THE MORAL EFFECT OF WAR

One of the most high-sounding pleas for war is that it develops manliness, the sturdy qualities, the noble sentiments of courage.

Advocates of disarmament are commonly referred to by the bellicose big-stickers as "old women," "mollycoddles," and "academic theorists."

Attention is now and hereby called to the fact that war has changed. Time was, perhaps, when knights struggled hand to hand and personal bravery and a noble contempt of life were the elements of the successful warrior.

Nowadays (see for instance Bernard Shaw's "Arms and the Man") battles are games of manœuvre, the deciding force being death-dealing machinery.

Instead of improving, the war business has steadily grown more barbarous. Ten days of battle on the Aisne have been richer in cruelty, savagery, and pure cussedness than all of Cæsar's campaigns put together.

Where is any romantic courage displayed in killing a hundred men with the exploded shreds of shell and the poisonous gases of a missile discharged at a distance of three miles?

Not the wrestling of man with man, but as pure murder as can be found in any slaughter house of Chicago or Kansas City is the advance of a column of infantry upon a row of rapid-firing guns.

War used to be contest. Now it is kill, kill, kill.

Nothing is to be spared. If a citizen snipes a soldier, take the burgomaster, the priests, and citizens out and shoot them against the wall.

If a city is objectionable raze it to the ground and spare not.

If an immemorial cathedral is in the way pulverize it.

What noble quality is displayed in sneaking up in a submarine to a cruiser and stabbing it with a torpedo as an assassin would knife his prey?

The troops, the young men who are "cannon fodder," are marched here and there simply as parts of a huge machine. Theirs not to understand. When they receive the word of command they are to advance and

be mowed down by iron hail or they are to retreat, falling dead in windrows under the pursuing fire.

The German army is reputed to be the most effective in the world, and that army places not so much emphasis on personal prowess as upon implicit obedience.

The highest ingenuity of man has been devoted to inventing colossal instruments of destruction. Every hideous and unspeakable device there is for the annihilation of men and the works of men is employed, powder, dynamite, lyddite, melanite, turpinite, and other hell concoctions.

A good old Irish fight in Tipperary, where all sail in, and the rule is "Wherever you see a head, hit it!" or a prize fight or a boys' bout at fisticuffs might possibly encourage "manliness" of a sort; but where two communities contend by blowing up houses with bombs, dropping explosives from balloons, or shooting shrapnel into each other the only "manly" qualities developed are viciousness, hardness of heart, disregard for human life, and abhorrent cruelty.

The crop of sheer moral depravity from this war will be enormous.

Wednesday, September 30, 1914.

REASONING

If you would be a diplomat you must be very wise and know how to reason. Plain, ordinary reasoning will not do. You must learn the peculiar brand of cause and effect used by kings' counsellors and statesmen.

For instance:

There are various questions to be settled by the European states, so that all may prosper, expand, and progress. Therefore, we will fall to killing each other. After we have butchered some hundred thousand hundredweight of human cattle, we can arrange these questions nicely.

Germany and England are both anxious to extend trade. Therefore let us pillage Belgium and devastate France.

France and Germany both want to rule in Alsace-Lorraine. Shall we let the inhabitants of the disputed provinces say for themselves under which flag they choose to do business? You're crazy! It is a much better way to fill ditches with riddled corpses, trample down

crops, and burn the factories of these provinces; this gives us such a clear view of the situation.

Austria and Russia equally are ambitious to boss the Slavs. Shall we let the Slavs say? Far be it from so! We shall mangle, maim, and kill a hundred thousand or so of nice young men. Only thus can we determine so knotty an issue.

There is some question as to which nation, Germany or France, has the better army and cannon. Shall we send experts out and take an inventory? Oh, no! The wisest way is to burn Belgium. By stabbing women, setting fire to cities, hanging old men up by the heels, blowing up bridges, and making bonfires of the gathered wheat of the Belgians, who are entirely innocent, we can gauge the matter much better.

The people of England, Germany, and France all want to make money, enjoy life, and live. The best way to secure to them these blessings is to tax the shirts off of them, make all the young men give two or three of the best years of their life idling and drilling in barracks, spend millions upon millions in making Krupp guns and giant battleships, and occasionally to shoot off all the powder we have accumulated and destroy myriads of

workers. Thus shall the nations advance in culture and wealth.

The nations seek but justice. This we will determine by seeing whose guns can shoot farthest.

By all means a nation must defend and maintain its honor. The only way to show that we are honorable is to be prepared to kill anyone that says "boo" to us.

This is the reasoning of statesmen, not of native Fiji Islanders, of cannibals, nor of Flat-foot Indians.

It is this sort of tomfool stuff that common folk are expected to admire.

It is sheer, rotten stupidity. It illustrates the utter incompetency of the professional rulers of the nations.

How much longer are the plain people going to stand it? How much longer will they consent to march out and be piled up in horrific hecatombs to pay the price of misgovernment?

Thursday, October 1, 1914.

THE INEVITABLE CONFLICT WITH THE EAST

Congressman Jim Mann has done broke loose, as follows:

"It is as certain as that the sun will arise to-morrow that a conflict will come between the Far East and the Far West across the Pacific Ocean. I hope there will be no conflict of arms.

"I have little faith that in this world of ours people and races are able to meet in competition for a long period of time without armed conflict. A fight for commercial supremacy leads to a fight with arms, because that is the final arbiter between nations."

There is no reason why we should inevitably drift into a fight with any nation, except one, and that is that we prepare for war, multiply battleships, bristle with forts, and otherwise go around with a chip on our shoulder.

There is no logical connection between commercial competition and armed conflict. Nor

for believing that rivals in trade should by and by go shooting each other.

On the contrary, commerce is one of the greatest preventives of war. It is in a way a substitute for war, as it provides an outlet for the surplus energy of the people, gives a certain risk and adventure, and, best of all, implies travel and better acquaintance.

One deep root of war is provincialism. The less you know of the people in a foreign country the more easily you fall to hating them. The more familiar you become with Japanese, Chinese, Hindus, or Europeans the more you love them.

Ignorance, narrowness, clannishness, and racial egotism produce a kind of patriotism which is childish, violent, and brutish. Europe is now a prey to these race animosities, as fierce as the mutual hatred between ancient Scottish clans.

The self-esteem of a savage is marked by the degree to which he despises his rivals and by the ferocity with which he attacks them. The self-esteem of a civilized man is marked by the extent to which he appreciates his competitors.

Trade with a foreign land ought to mean, and does mean, profit for both parties. When

we buy silk of China or tea of Japan, both countries are benefited.

Commerce means mutual increase of wealth to both sides; war means mutual destruction. One is the opposite of the other.

Brother Mann's scream about competition leading to armed conflict, therefore, is mediæval. Such talk is as out of date in statesmanship as the eternal damnation of infants is out of date in theology.

The people of the Orient are kindly and gentle. They are a hard-working and peaceful folk. We have no quarrel with them and any differences that may arise can be settled easily by lawful means, provided we do not go at them with blow and brag and bluster, gunboats and armies.

Why in the world cannot the U. S. A. statesmen and newspapers behave like gentlemen and not like Bowery gunmen?

A war with Japan would cost us, say, two billion dollars. But if we invest half of that amount in cultivating the friendship of the bright, energetic people of Nippon, interchanging college professors, building up trade, disseminating friendly literature, and submitting all debated questions to an international court, then no war cloud shall ever darken our horizon.

Our dealings with the Orientals have been characterized by the cheapest, nastiest, and most offensive narrowness and bluster of which politicians are capable. If we would turn over a new leaf and be courteous, just, self-controlled, and gentlemanly, we would not need to get ready for "the inevitable conflict with the Japanese."

Monday, October 5, 1914.

THE CHILDREN

A MOVEMENT is on foot headed by a committee of public-minded women, to prepare a monster petition from the children of the United States of America to the crowned heads of Europe, asking for an immediate armistice, the cessation of hostilities, and the submission of all the matters in issue to The Hague tribunal.

It is good. Its effect, of course, will be only sentimental; but war is only that.

It will be an application of right and helpful sentiment as an antidote to ulcerous and baleful sentiment.

There is no good reason why the conflict should not stop right now. All talk to the effect that "Germany must be crushed" or "England must be humbled" or "France must be reduced" is puerile. It amounts to a childish desire to whip the other fellow. The gratification of such a lust for mastery will cost Europe a staggering amount of lives and money.

The sober, thinking folks of Germany, France, England, and Russia want only one thing, and that is—justice. And the idea that justice can be ground out of the battle-mill is on a level with duelling and trial by fire—utterly mediæval.

It will do no harm for the little child to say as much to their majesties. The royal magnificences and their bonehead counsellors may not listen; but history will listen—and record it upon her tablets.

Besides, why shouldn't the next generation have its say?

Just as the divorce inclined people seem to assume that the two adults in the case, with their clash of selfish interests, are alone to be considered, and forget the children, who, after all, are the real sufferers in domestic contention, so nations appear to think that in public matters it is only grown male adults whose interests are to be dealt with.

But for every torn man-body lying in the trenches by the Aisne, for every fine young fellow disembowelled by bayonet or decapitated by shrapnel in field or fortress, there is a woman at home whom no merciful death spares the horror, loneliness, and privations of widowhood; there are little ones whose father can no more guard and guide them,

whose right to a father's care and protection has been taken away by the blind stubbornness of statecraft.

And it is these children, this succeeding generation, that must pay the awful cost, must bow under outrageous taxes, and must bear the hideous heritage of hate and race-jealousy left by their forebears.

It is the children of 1870 that now are raging in the violent passions bequeathed them.

1914 is the child of 1870.

Why should not 1914 pause and heed the cry of 1930?

The eternal symphony of mankind is "Papa, Mamma, and the baby." Are two of these voices to be forever dumb?

Tuesday, October 6, 1914.

KING QUALITIES

It will do the world no good to get rid of kings unless it gets rid of the king qualities.

A king, a noble, an aristocrat, a high-born person, is an outward sign of an inward and spiritual disease.

That disease is the lust to dominate. The desire to rule is the parent of all cruelty, tyranny, and social injustice.

What the world needs is that its bosom be cleansed of this rotten craving, which for centuries, exfoliating in magnificence, has cursed the race.

No man or nation can arrive at greatness —neither, indeed, can be able to see with any sort of unpurged vision what greatness is— until such man or nation learns humility; which is love of service and a distaste for command.

The cheapest, vulgarest thing in men is pride. It is the product of egoism. It is the fever of an inflamed ego. Whenever mani-

fested it stinks in the nostrils of all truly cultured people.

"Pride goeth before a fall." For pride is an offense to the world, and sooner or later the world has its revenge.

Wherefore it produces in us a large pain when we read the statements of Germans to the effect that Teutons ought naturally to boss the earth, because they know so much and are so active, efficient, scientific, and everything else supermen should be.

No less fat is our pain to hear the boast that England is mistress of the seas and regulator of the dry land.

Or that France is destined to rule and lead.

Or that Russia and the Slav are some day to be cocks of the walk.

This pain intensifies to acuteness when we hear the big-stick Americans preach their gospel of 200 battleships and 1,000,000 armed men, so we may be ready to lick anybody at the drop of the hat, and thus become the grandest bully and cad among all nations.

It is the dreams of German dominance, English dominance, Slav dominance, that hover over Europe's slaughter.

It is this septic microbe of dominance that fills the world with brutal violence.

Why should any nation want to dominate?

The result would be only infinite rebellion, increasing taxation, tyranny, and trouble.

And of all nations why should we, a democracy, a land full of common people, want to rule any other people?

The only class profited by ruling an alien people is the king-and-noble class, the idlers riding upon the people's back. A democracy has nothing to gain by oppressing another nation.

Bluster and boast, kaiserly mailed fist, and Rooseveltian big stick, backed by high explosives and battle-mad mobs, is childish and cheap.

Pride and aggressiveness is the national road to hell.

Those king-qualities made the French Revolution. They brought on the collapse of the magnificence of Spain and Portugal, who once divided the globe between them. They caused England to lose the United States. They have kept Mexico poor and left her in perpetual revolution. They have done for poor old Austria. They have led Germany into her present position where, like Napoleon, she fights the world.

The road of pride, of rule lust, the way of kings and classes since the world began; it is paved with the dead bodies of the workers;

it is lined with roofless houses, where the skeletons of mothers and children lean against charred walls; along it trudge the bowed oafs, tax-burdened, cursed with king burdens, burning with those old king passions, aflame forever.

The people of America want no king virtues, such as pride, touchiness, inflamed sense of "honor," and the thousand symptoms of swollen ego.

We want schoolma'am virtues, gardener, farmer, blacksmith, merchant, bricklayer virtues; which are honesty, sobriety, industry, helpfulness, and a desire to serve the world and not to dominate it.

If we continue to bear ourselves with dignity, to make no armed preparation that shall belie our pacific protests, and to see that the braggarts, bullies, and champions of the mailed fist, who ape the royal noble gamecocks of a decadent civilization, are retired to private life, we shall surely come to that true greatness of nations, to a supremacy that incurs no envy, to the grandeur and leadership of service.

Wednesday, October 7, 1914.

THE PLACE OF WAR IN EVOLUTION

It is helpful for one to get any event properly set in his world view. Every one must have some sort of philosophy, some theory of the universe, its design and intelligent purpose.

We have no more the mediæval outlook, that view held by Dante or St. Bernard. We cannot be satisfied with the world conception of the ancient Norsemen, nor with that of the Brahman.

The modern idea is the result of the unfolding of the evolution of thought. The principal factors in its making were the Reformation in northern Europe, the Renaissance in Italy, the French Revolution, and the rise of modern science. To these may be added the appearance of America and American ideals upon the world's stage.

The significance of all these is that the world of men is a growing thing, that it is

slowly developing from imperfect conditions into a coherent, organized whole.

In this programme where does war come?

The answer is, that war is a phase of evolution, a painful phenomenon incident to the passing of world thought from childhood into maturity, from competition to co-ordination.

The ultimate aim is that the whole earth shall be one homogeneous unit. It is impossible for progress to continue much further so long as mankind remains under isolated, jealous, and contending nationalities; just as it would be impossible for these United States to thrive if every state were sovereign and there were no central, national government.

Just why men must learn their lessons at the cost of so much violence and destruction no one can say. But it seems that is the only way humanity learns.

The destiny purpose of this war, therefore, is that the people shall be made to realize the terrible price of non-co-operation.

The end will be to bring the nations together. To save themselves from annihilation they must eventually secure some kind of unity of action.

Militarism, with its deep delusion of military preparedness, must show itself utterly unbearable.

The present vast conflict is one of the "growing pains" of humanity.

The abhorrent injustice of the old régime in France could not go without the bitter struggle of the revolution. Human slavery in America could not pass without the shedding of blood.

So the federation of the world cannot come by Hague conferences and academic discussions; the old order, where nations are armed camps directed by monarchies, is too deeply rooted in the passions and prejudices of the people to disappear without gigantic convulsions. There are some devils that go not out of man except they rend him.

But our children's children will read of this mighty ruck of destruction, with the same sentiments we now read of the French Revolution and the American civil war, and rejoice that the ends gained are as valuable to the human race as the means employed were fearful.

For this war is the terrible ploughing; the crop shall be the federation of the world and the disarmament of the separate nations.

Scientifically speaking, war is a phase in the change incurred by the evolution of mankind from heterogeneity to homogeneity.

Friday, October 9, 1914.

THE BIG BROTHER

If the United States is going to be a Big Brother to Mexico it should act in a brotherly way.

The science and practice of brotherliness among nations, however, is still in its mewling and babbling infancy.

The world has been so long fed on the raw meat of war, of force, of honor (which usually means strutting pride), and of all such half-brute notions, that its idea of patriotism rarely reaches above the level of a bellicose national egotism.

But how would a brother treat a brother? He would help, encourage, and assist him in every way. He would not try to impose his will by force upon him. Neither would he hold aloof and bid him paddle his own canoe.

But how can we help Mexico, help her in a way that shall bring prosperity and peace to her, and profit and joy to ourselves?

First, how not to do it is the way we have always done. We have simply exploited that

country, gone down there and bought mines, railways, and haciendas, organized business schemes, and acted generally with the one purpose of making all the money possible out of the Mexicans.

We have been entirely selfish. We have not done one thing toward helping the struggling myriads of the poor.

When they got into trouble we sent a fleet flying to Vera Cruz, held that city a while, and now propose to bring our ships back home.

If we were truly a Big Brother this is what we would do:

Instead of spending millions on an army to "pacify" the country we would spend millions upon preparing the people there for citizenship. We would build thousands of public schools and send an invading army of thousands of teachers. We would establish vocational schools all over the land.

Recognizing that ignorance is their greatest curse, we would relieve that ignorance.

The exploiters of Mexico have never turned over their hand to educate the peons. In fact, they have opposed education as interfering with the cheap labor, virtual slave labor, which is so profitable to the employers.

We would pay the way of thousands of

Mexican boys and girls to come to our schools and learn American ideas and methods.

We would send emissaries of our government into every city and hamlet of Mexico to do their utmost to show the youth how to live, to work, and to think.

Why should all "missionary" work be done by religious sects? Why cannot there be a high and disinterested missionary spirit in a whole nation? Why not missionaries to teach civilization, medicine, science, arts and crafts, as well as to teach disputed religious doctrines? Why can we not build hospitals, free schools, asylums, and libraries all up and down Mexico?

Foolish talk? Impractical?

Sure! And it shows how hollow and unmeaning is our prating of being a Big Brother.

With no motive but the sordid one of gain we have acted toward the Mexicans rather as a Big Robber, getting every cent we could out of them and showing our teeth and threatening war whenever they cried out.

Isn't it about time for a nation definitely to discard the dirty, selfish motives of Machiavelli and endeavor to act as a human, collectively human, civilized and helpful Big Brother?

We are helping, teaching the Filipinos, and

transforming them. Why not the Mexicans, Nicaraguans, and all Central America? Do we have to own a land to help it?

Is not a billion dollars spent on schools and training a better way to conquer a country than by cannon and soldiers?

On to the Panama Canal! Not with rifles, but with school books. Not as hungry robbers, but as real, genuine, friendly Big Brothers.

Saturday, October 10, 1914.

THE COLLAPSE OF AN IDEAL

THE most disappointing feature of the great war is the collapse of European Socialism.

We had great hopes of it. The master card, we fondly dreamed, would be played for humanity and against the diabolism of the military monarchies by the great international party (the Socialists), the one group of human beings still holding aloft the banner of the people.

At the time of the Algeciras affair we were thrilled by the dramatic threat of a universal strike of workingmen if the rulers dared go to war.

That was heartening. At last the poor boobs, the common people, had come to their senses, we thought. They were tired of doing the suffering and dying for monarchies and contending capitalist groups. War would now be forever estopped by the best of all reasons, because the workers would decline to go out and be shot. National rulers would

be brought to a realization that they must settle their differences SOME OTHER WAY than by wholesale slaughter of the proletariat.

But what happened? The kaiser declared war. The allies responded in kind. And where, oh where, was the grand army of the internationalists?

John R. McMahon, himself a Socialist, in a strong article in the *Independent* says: "International socialism was paralyzed, gagged, dumb, stowed out of sight, swept aside as a feather, while hell's legions marched bloodlustily to the front." Socialists everywhere, with a few exceptions, flocked to the standards of the belligerents. Nationalism was triumphant. Suddenly hushed was the song:

> "The international party
> Shall be the human race."

In one day the multitudes that had been preaching the lofty principles of brotherhood slumped into primeval jungleism and the kill was on.

Eventually the underlying principle of Socialism, at least that much of it that makes all human creatures brothers and refuses to kill and pillage them of another race, must triumph; but the cause will have to find disciples of sterner stuff than the Socialists of Europe.

The early Christians gladly died for their convictions; perished at the stake rather than join Rome's butcher legions. But "the blood of the martyrs was the seed of the church."

Had a hundred Socialists chosen death rather than to murder their brethren, so magnificent an example might have thrilled the world. Now thousands of them are fallen in the battles of their enemies.

Had a general strike against war and for humanity been declared, the heart of the world would have leaped with a bound of youth and hope.

As it is, these terrible words of Mr. McMahon stand:

"Socialism in Europe is guilty of a monstrous crime. It has swallowed its principles, spat upon brotherhood, betrayed the class it professes to represent, everlastingly disgraced the red banner of internationalism. It has surrendered to the enemy; it has joined with enthusiastic abandon the capitalistic and dynastic butchers who are turning Europe into a people's killing bed."

Tuesday, October 13, 1914.

THE NEW SHALL CONQUER THE OLD

LISTEN! Right now, in the midst of alarms, I prophesy that brotherhood shall triumph.

They are meeting in the trenches, before the forts, upon the plain; they are sniping each other from behind trees; they are plunging bayonets into soft flesh; they are blasting human bodies into bits; they curse, hate, strike; but the day shall come when out of all this welter of brutal passions there shall grow up a tree of union, whose roots shall be France, Germany, Russia, one people forever.

This is my belief, which I believe with all my heart. Egotism and pride must go down before altruism. Hate cannot last. The fires of war feeling must die away. The jealousies of nations must dissolve. Humanity must swallow up patriotism.

The German people and the English people do not hate each other. They are blinded by the falseness and folly of leaders. With any

kind of wise government they would co-operate, the prosperity of each would enhance the welfare of the other. They would be two great brothers, and not two fierce tigers.

I believe this because I believe that intelligence is longer lived than stupidity; that wisdom always conquers ignorance; that kindness and good will are tougher, stronger, and more enduring than hostility.

The conditions of war cannot last. They mean destruction, horror, desolation. Men cannot forever endure the massacre of youth, hearts cannot always stand the wail of women, the human race cannot go on seeing the products of their centuries of construction being battered and razed by cannon. What people permanently want is a chance to work; they want homes and a piece of ground, the smiles of women, and the laughter of children. Before this persistent desire all war, war organizations, and war motives must fall.

On March 1, 1871, when the French National Assembly met at Bordeaux, at the close of the Franco-Prussian war, to ratify the preliminary articles of peace with Germany, Victor Hugo spoke. He foretold how France would some day arise from her ashes and take her revenge upon her foe.

"Then," he said, "France will suddenly

arouse herself. She will become formidable. She will regain Alsace and Lorraine. Is it enough? No! No! She will capture—listen!—Treves, Mainz, Cologne, Coblenz! —and you shall hear France cry: 'The clock strikes my hour! Germany, hear me! Am I thine enemy? No, I am thy sister! I have taken all from thee. I return all to thee, upon one condition: That we shall no longer be a divided people; that we shall be one united family, one republic. I will demolish my fortresses, thou thine. My vendetta is—brotherhood!

" 'No more frontier. The Rhine, mine and thine. We shall be the same republic, we shall be the United States of Europe, we shall be the continental federation, we shall be the liberty of Europe. And now let us clasp hands, for we have rendered each a reciprocated service. Thou hast freed me from my emperor. I will free thee from thine.' "

Hate, war lust, individual and national egotism, and all the devil feelings that make men organize to kill, are old, old as man himself. But love and kindness, mutual help and joy of companionship, are eternally new, fresh with each generation, divinely evergreen, the inexterminable instincts of human beings, who

though brutes by body are divine by spirit; and the eternally new shall outlive the eternally old.

"For still the new transcends the old
In signs and tokens manifold;
Slaves rise up men; the olive waves,
With roots deep set in battle graves!"

Thursday, October 15, 1914.

ANTICHRIST

About two thousand years ago there appeared on earth a strange religion. In the midst of the hard Roman Empire a sect arose advocating love, mercy, purity, and justice, disclaiming the sword.

This sect conquered the earth. Its willing martyrs subdued the hired legions. Its religion became the established faith of Europe.

Then came that corroding doubt of purely spiritual power which by and by paralyzed the world. The specious necessity of physical force to establish righteousness was accepted by all. Professing to believe in Christ, Christendom lapsed into the profoundest treachery. They ceased to rely upon the power of goodness alone. They took the sword.

Upon this treachery governments were organized. Professing faith in Christ the nations agreed upon the programme of Antichrist.

And now come the inevitable results. Europe is in universal convulsion. The bat-

tles where the largest armies in history contend are more terrible than the woes of the Apocalypse.

It is the realization, the coming into expression, of the spirit of Antichrist.

For these are Christ's beatitudes, and these of Antichrist:

(Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.) Blessed are the fierce and proud in spirit, for theirs are the kingdoms of earth.

(Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted.) Blessed are the successful, that shout and laugh, for they shall need no comfort.

(Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth.) Blessed are the dominant, for they shall subdue the earth.

(Blessed are they that do hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be filled.) Blessed are they that hunger for power, place, glory, and conquest, and ride rough-shod over righteousness, for they shall find success.

(Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy.) Blessed are they of "blood and iron," the ruthless and the cruel, for they shall obtain praise and possessions. For what good is mercy?

(Blessed are the pure in heart, for they

shall see God.) Blessed are the hard of heart, for they shall command God and bend Him to their will.

(Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God.) Blessed are the warmakers, for they shall be called the children of Odin, who is greater than the soft God of love.

(Blessed are they that are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.) Blessed are they that persecute, kill, and destroy for their nation's sake, for theirs is the rule on earth.

I say unto you, said the Christ, love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you.

I say unto you, says the Antichrist, arm against your enemies, curse them that curse you, drop bombs upon the undefended cities of your traditional foes, hash them with bayonet, slash them with sabre, shred them with shrapnel, burn their cities, tear down their homes, outrage, maim, and kill them; for so shall ye be loyal and faithful subjects of your kings.

Friday, October 16, 1914.

THE GUN WAR AND THE IDEA WAR

One great wrong of the gun war now in process is that it stops the idea war which was progressing well.

The gun war is about nothing at all, as far as the people are concerned. The high-sounding phrases of German "Weltmacht oder Niedergang" (World-power or Destruction), of Slav destiny, of French revenge, of balance of power, and of all such statecraft formulas, mean nothing to the people, as to bread and butter, economic advance, the abolition of special privilege, and the conquest of capital by democracy.

The idea war is about something that really matters. It was being fought, earnestly though bloodlessly, in every university of Europe, in every parliament, in every political campaign, in periodicals and pamphlets, in social discussion everywhere.

It is a war for better conditions, for liberty

of individual action, for the rights of workers, mothers, children, for the rise of the people into self-government, for intelligence and reason as against stupid custom.

When the gun war broke out the idea war was seething in England, and the champions of human rights were pressing the cohorts of privilege back from position to position; in France, Germany, Italy, and Russia the spirit of democracy was no less vigorously active.

When the cannon began to roar the clock of democracy stopped.

The uprising flood of humanity was dammed by nationalism.

Once more the people were seduced from their real war, against all sorts of "divine rights," whether of class, of property, or of privilege, and led away into the meaningless issues of contending dynasties.

As far as the people are concerned it makes small difference what is the name of the governing house of England, Germany, France, or any other country. It does make a difference whether they control their rulers, elect and reject them, limit or empower them; and whether they, the people, are to be taxed to death for armaments to enforce mediæval ideas, burdened with idle, endowed classes, exploited by shrewd money barons, and left

to endure stultifying work conditions in field and factory.

The war for the enfranchisement of women, for the better training of the children and their release from the economic struggle, for a better and surer share in the profits of labor by the laborer, for getting the soldier, the noble, and the ecclesiastic, and all the endowed idlers, off the backs of the producers—this war meant the redemption of the world; and perhaps the worst of the effects of the gun war is that it has estopped and set back the great war of ideas.

Nothing will be settled by the gun war except which nation has the most guns and men, and for that what do the people care?

After it is all over we must go back to the fight for the right of the common people, of all lands, for their share of health and wage, for the right of the worker, not the kaiser, to "his place in the sun."

Saturday, October 17, 1914.

IF I HAD ALL THE WAR MONEY

KINGS, rulers, statesmen, legislators, and all ye who have been guiding the states of the world, hear me!

For what purpose have ye planned, what is the end of all your laws, treaties, policies, and armaments? For the benefit of the people, ye say. To make the folk of your nation healthier, wealthier, and happier.

Give me now the money ye have spent on war and on getting ready for war and I will do these things:

I will buy every foot of land on the globe and present it to the people who work;

I will strike at the root of crime, idleness, vice, and poverty, by giving to every worker living wages;

I will bring comfort and plenty into every hovel; light, liberty, and joy to every slave;

I will enable every young couple to marry without the dread of want;

I will put every child on earth to school,

to be suitably trained for a life of competence;

Instead of millions of armed men marching to kill, I will organize vast armies of school teachers, and therewith overrun the earth;

I will have troopships of educators instead of battleships or destroyers, and have them sail to the seven seas, to make war upon ignorance, incompetence, laziness, and animalism;

I will build parks, playgrounds, libraries, theatres, and concert halls, until every son and daughter of man shall be as cheered as kings;

I will dress every human being as the nobles are dressed;

I will pile every home table with delectable food, fill every home bookshelf with books, and put music in every house;

I will endow the common people with the luxury of lords;

I will establish a church in every hamlet, and pay the living of every preacher of righteousness;

I will federate the nations and furnish funds for one international executive, legislative, and military equipment, so that international war shall be impossible and in time forgotten;

I will clear the way for the rapid advance

of science, of art, of sound economics, of religion, and of commerce;

I will so develop the resources of the land, and so encourage invention, manufacture, and scientific distribution that there shall be nevermore any famine;

And I will brighten up this planet until it shines like the sun in its place in the heavens, and all the stars shall wonder;

And shall sing, "still quiring to the young-eyed cherubim," and say: "Peace be within thy walls, O templed Tellus, and prosperity within thy palaces!"

Tuesday, October 20, 1914.

GERMAN AND FRENCH

I AM German, they say, and he is French.

But we met at school in old Louvain, where now smoke blows through the empty sockets of ruined walls, and we knew no nations.

What to us were states, traditions, flags, clashing patriotisms, and all the artificialities of pride that divide men?

We loved. One day by the low fence, where the honeysuckle bloomed, he suddenly took my hand, and the divine fire invaded me; I was blind, deaf, dumb with joy.

When he kissed me my heart went out through my lips. And his heart entered into me. We were no more German, French; we had become as gods.

We were married and went to live in my native town. When our boy came, beautiful, heavenly bright, he was not French, he was not German, he was a child of God, who is of no nation.

Now I am with my parents in Dusseldorf. My lover is in the French trenches.

All day long I hear talk of statecraft, of German destiny, of English cunning, of French revenge. What does it mean to me, sitting in my corner knitting, seeing in my mind ever that burning vision of my lover?

God! I cannot bear it. Sometimes I see him lying wounded, his sweet hair matted with blood; that mouth, those dear lips I would die to kiss again, crushed hideously.

Sometimes at night I hear him cry as he lies in a forgotten field; he is burning with fever and thirst; he calls my name; I start up shrieking, till my mother comes and puts me again to bed.

My boy, my lover, so strong, so full of undaunted cheer, so loyal, so deeply passionate to me—to me, now a woman no more, but a living moan, a quivering heartbreak!

I hear them talk and talk, father and the neighbors. They talk of nations.

It seems to me as if they were not human beings, but ghouls. The things they talk of are dead and damned.

It is as if I lived on the edge of the cesspool of the past. From it come the stinking vapors of dead ideas. Oh, how they sicken me!

Monarchies, nations, races, military glory,

patriotic enthusiasms, kill-lust—how they stew and rot and send up poison gases!

I am smothering. I shall go mad. They do not understand me here.

I am but one of a hundred thousand women choked, drowned in the filthy vats of mediævalism.

I cannot write to him, my love. I can get no news, nor give.

Merciful Jesus! If he is still alive make him know that I love him so that every day is night to me and every night a ghastly day.

Rulers, statesmen, I register my curse against you at the judgment day. Need ye to have stepped on my heart to mount your ambitions?

My lover, my boy, my husband! God brought us together and said: "Ye are both human."

Hell, hell, hell separated us and said: "You are French. You are German."

Thursday, October 22, 1914.

A TWENTIETH CENTURY MACHIAVELLI

MANY people in this country will be surprised to learn that there are those who do not look upon war as a calamity, but believe that it does good. A very interesting, also amazing, book is "Germany and the Next War," written by a German, F. von Bernhardi, and published in English by Longmans, Green and Company.

Bernhardi may be called the modern Machiavelli. He calmly assumes that anything like personal morality has no place in the councils of states; and argues grandly upon the necessity of human butchery in order to advance culture, ideals, and all great virtues.

I can do no better than to make some literal quotations from his book, which might have been written by the devil himself.

"War," he assures us, "is an indispensable factor of culture, in which a true civilized na-

tion finds the highest expression of vitality." It is to be hoped that the people of Antwerp appreciate this.

"The desire for peace has rendered most civilized nations anæmic and marks a decay of spirit. This aspiration is directly antagonistic to the great universal laws which rule all life."

"War is a biological necessity of the first importance, a regulative element of mankind which cannot be dispensed with, since without it an unhealthy development would follow, which excludes all advancement of the race, and therefore all real civilization. 'War is the father of all things,' said Heraclitus."

In other words, there can be no racial progress unless we get out and shoot each other every so often.

Among nations, he says, "right is respected so far only as it is compatible with advantage." This is pure Machiavellianism.

Nothing but war can "secure to the true elements of progress the ascendency over the spirits of corruption and decay."

"Might is the supreme right, and the dispute as to what is right is decided by the arbitrament of war." Hence, duelling is right, and trial by fire, doubtless.

War alone develops the ideal, he holds.

Without this blessed thing we would all slump into materialism. The Federation of the World and universal peace would mean that the human race would soon rot; for, he says, "to expand the idea of the state into that of humanity leads to error, since, in a human race conceived of as a whole, struggle would be ruled out, and struggle is the most essential vital principle."

War may seem cruel, but "the brutal incidents inseparable from every war vanish completely before the idealism of the main result."

It is really bad for nations when they are not cutting one another's throats. "Petty and personal interests force their way to the front during a long period of peace. Selfishness and intrigue run riot, and idealism is obliterated."

He frankly advocates the doctrine which most statesmen constantly practice—and constantly deny. "Christian morality is personal and social, and in its nature cannot be political."

"The United States of America championed the idea of universal peace in order to devote their undisturbed attention to money making and the enjoyment of wealth; they thus incur a great danger in avoiding the stress of great political emotions, without

which the moral development of the national character is impossible." Ouch!

"Arbitration treaties must be peculiarly detrimental to an aspiring people." That for Mr. Bryan and his scraps of paper!

"If we sum up our arguments, we shall see that the efforts directed toward the abolition of war must not only be termed foolish but absolutely immoral, and must be stigmatized as unworthy of the human race."

"The inevitableness, the idealism, and the blessing of war, as an indispensable and stimulating law of development, must be repeatedly emphasized."

There have been books preaching free love; there have been apostles of anarchy and of "murder as a fine art"; and De Quincey also gave us the thieves' own book; there have been apostate priests who celebrated the Black Mass; and probably every perversion of the human spirit has had its exponents; but Bernhardi, who presents war, the most gigantic of all villainies, dressed up in angels' livery, is easily entitled to the blue ribbon, the first prize and the iron cross.

Friday, October 23, 1914.

RESULTS

RESULTS so far of the great war are as follows:

1. More men killed than in any other war in history. "The death roll," writes Herbert Corey, "when it is finally made public will be absolutely appalling."

2. More men wounded. Wounds more terrible and painful.

3. More heartbroken women. More children left fatherless. More than in any previous conflict.

4. More ruthless brutality. Real or fancied offenses by non-combatant citizens being met by the fiercest retaliation.

5. Destruction of property and of human life upon a scale of magnitude and with circumstances of horror never before dreamed of. Raymond Swing tells of viewing the ruins of Fort Loncin, at Liége, where a Krupp gun projectile, fired from a distance of five and a half miles, by a lucky strike bored its way

down the air shaft of the fort's magazine, there exploded, "and in one second converted this excellent fortification into a heap of ghastly ruins, burying over 300 men under tons of masonry."

6. Masses of men sacrificed with more reckless disregard for human life than the world ever before has seen exhibited. Witness the continual advance in close formation against machine guns.

7. The most pitiable, childish boasting and braggadocio on all sides.

8. Systematic lying officially carried on, at Berlin, at Bordeaux, and at London.

9. Suppression of the real facts, both by prohibiting press representatives at the front, and by censorship by the government.

10. A luxuriant growth of a crop of spiritual weeds never before equalled; for when were ever displayed such violence of race hate, such intolerance of opinion, such rabid dispute, such willingness to resort to any means however abhorrent in order to insure victory, such pitiful prating of "honor," such indifference to suffering, such mad lust to kill?

11. World-wide suffering to a degree never before known. Business paralysis in America. All investments threatened with ruin. Petty wars in Africa. "Syria," according to the re-

port of the Presbyterian Missionary Society, "engulfed by utter hopelessness; Persia in financial chaos; the industries of Chili prostrate; Guatemala driven to the hunger point; Japan, already debt laden, again under arms; China in anxiety." The noxious gases of the European explosion are asphyxiating the world.

12. The development of the militaristic illusion in the United States, where there are not wanting those who urge our country to increase its armament, thus preparing itself to plunge sooner or later into the same vortex of ruin.

If there be immortal gods who control the destinies of men, and who wish their destruction, they certainly seem to be preparing them for that doom by first making them mad.

Saturday, October 24, 1914.

THREE BILLION DOLLARS IN THE RATHOLE

General Wood bewails the unpreparedness of our army. The Navy League urges increased expenditure for ships, that we be not undefended if a war breaks out. Every once in a while a congressman sensationally dilates upon the defenselessness of our coasts. The yellow newspapers periodically seek to fan to flame a war scare.

The whole of these people are wrong, with the same fatal wrongness that right now is disembowelling Europe. The "be-ready-to-fight" party never seems to learn anything.

A lieutenant in the United States army, for instance, arrived home from Europe the other day and sagely announced that now perhaps America would take warning from the great war—and arm herself! That is to say, that we, seeing what has befallen the transatlantic nations by their continued use of bichloride-of-

mercury-militarism tablets, should swallow the stuff ourselves.

Since 1900 this country has spent $3,308,066,310 on the army and navy. Yet army and navy men tell us we are wholly unprepared; that Germany or Japan might come over and invest us any day.

In other words, over three billion dollars has been poured down the rathole. Why keep it up?

As a matter of fact, our freedom from foreign invasion has not depended one jot upon our arms, but upon the fact that we have minded our own business and kept out of quarrels.

The surest defense of this or any country is to act courteously, justly, and with forbearance toward all nations.

To render ourselves unassailable in the future this nation has only—

1. To behave as a gentleman, and not as a bully;

2. To reduce its armament to such a proportion that no neighbor can imagine we mean to attack it, as any fully prepared nation easily finds a pretext for war;

3. To spend as much as we have spent for war preparedness, say two billion dollars in the next ten years, cultivating the good will

of our neighbors, as Japan, China, England, and Germany, developing trade with them, encouraging friendly travel, and the like;

4. And especially in forming a federation with any nation or all nations that will join, and building up an international army and navy, abandoning thus forever the idea and eliminating the possibility of wars of conquest, and laying the foundation of intelligent world-government, in which the nations may be relieved of the intolerable and useless burden of vast individual armaments.

Let us not argue. Let us look at facts. Armament of each nation never has secured peace. Inexorable logic says that it never will.

It is high time now that the United States step out of the wallow of militarism, strip off its danger-making arms, join hands with such of the nations as will come with us, and lead the world up to the only solid ground of rational peace—federation.

Saturday, October 31, 1914.

ORGANIZED INSANITY

THE word is Lloyd George's. It means that strange, inexplicable idiocy under the influence of which nations go on increasing their armaments for the purpose of maintaining peace.

History shows that armies never did keep the peace. The present horror in Europe shows precisely what rivalry in armaments comes to.

Yet some people never learn. Facts slip off them like water from a duck's back. In fact, they have the astounding effrontery to appeal to this country to increase its arms. To commit the same infernal folly Europe has committed—this they call learning from experience! Could logical contortion twist itself into greater absurdity?

Here is Mr. Roosevelt urging us to increase our murder machinery, and pointing to China as a "horrible example" of the policy of non-aggression. He says that country has been

oppressed and invaded because it would not fight. But what about the countries that DID fight—Rome, Greece, Egypt, Spain, and—Germany? China is older than any of them.

And here comes Mr. Mann with his talk of our "inevitable" conflict with Japan. If it is inevitable it is because men like Mann are inevitable. He might be a schoolmate of Bernhardi and Munsterberg, the prize maniacs of the war cult.

Also comes Representative Gardner, of whom we had thought better things. And ex-Secretary Meyer.

Meyer wants us to have forty-two first-class battleships, so that we may "control" the Pacific. What do we want to control the Pacific for? The idea is vicious, war-producing. We want the Pacific and all oceans free to the ships of the world.

And the more warships we build, the more Japan will build; then China will get into the game. That way lies international madness, ruin.

While the best minds in England and France are calling the present conflict a war upon militarism, and advocating reduction of armaments at its close, is it possible that we Americans are itching to fall into their old error?

Let us have sense! Let us see clearly our goal, which is intelligent federation, the abandonment of naval rivalries, the substitution of international co-operation. Let us spend our money for that, and not for a continuation of the old, rotten system that has been such a colossal failure.

Mad is all that this unreason can be called, that would have us, the heirs of all the ages, the nation of rational democracy, get into the accursed monarchic game of competition in destruction, load ourselves with intolerable taxation, and end by a terrific slaughter match with some nation that gentlemanly dealings might have made our friend.

These are golden words of our secretary of state, which he delivered at Mohonk:

"I believe that this nation could stand before the world to-day and tell the world that it did not believe in war, that it did not believe that it was the right way to settle disputes, that it had no disputes that it was not willing to submit to the judgment of the world. If this nation did that, it not only would not be attacked by any other nation on the earth, but it would become the supreme power in the world."

Wednesday, November 4, 1914.

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE SECRETARIES OF WAR AND THE NAVY

My dear Mr. Garrison and my dear Mr. Daniels: We have read with real concern an article in the news columns of the American press to the effect that you are going to ask congress to increase considerably the army and navy.

When I say "we," I mean the great common lot of folks in these United States. In your present positions you are surrounded by men whose whole life has been spent in the profession of arms, your environment is naturally saturated with militarism, and, next to religious fanaticism, there is no form of insanity more distressing than militarism to unhinge the powers of logic. Perhaps, therefore, this breeze from the farms, shops, offices, and homes may not come amiss.

The news item referred to speaks of the lessons which you "believe the army and navy

of the United States should draw from the war in Europe." What lessons THEY draw we cannot say; but the lessons WE draw are plain.

First lesson: That heavy armament has failed to preserve the peace.

Second lesson: That it has, on the contrary, provoked war.

Third lesson: That the present world programme, in which each nation undertakes to secure defense and justice by its own physical force, has utterly collapsed, and that the only hope for such a world-wide reign of law as shall enable the people to carry on their pursuits without the fear of wars, lies in some form of federation of the nations.

There is no other possible way to prevent war and to save civilization than world federation and the prohibition of national armies and navies.

The common answer to this is, that it is true enough but WE ARE NOT READY YET.

But we ARE ready. We can begin NOW.

How shall we begin?

BY APPLYING THOSE FUNDS USUALLY SPENT IN THREATENING DREADNOUGHTS AND THE LIKE TO THE WORK OF ESTABLISHING

FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH OUR FELLOW NATIONS.

You are quoted as desiring to commit congress "to a definite national military policy extending over a period of years."

Good! But let that policy be the promotion of federation and disarmament of individual nations and a definite plan to relieve mankind forever from the burden of military preparedness.

You cannot do that by inventing new submarine or aerial machines for destruction.

If you mean business, throw away your blamed pistol!

Why in reason's name can you not get out of the miserable rut of Europe?

What to do? Take the two hundred and fifty million dollars you might spend in armament next year, and distribute it as follows:

A million or so for the establishment of public schools in Mexico.

A million or so ditto for Central America.

Several millions for a permanent organization for the propaganda of friendly relations with Japan, China, Germany, England, Russia, and other countries, arranging so that every significant newspaper or magazine article appearing here which makes for race-friendship, shall be widely circulated there,

and that our most able and representative men should be sent abroad as AMBASSADORS OF PUBLIC OPINION.

Could our ex-presidents, Taft and Roosevelt, be better employed than in capturing the friendship of the world?

Go on; use the other millions in like manner, to wit:

To urge federation, to develop friendship and to say to the nations everywhere: "Come on! It's time to quit fighting and hating. Let's get together, leave to each country its independence, and all co-operate for the general good."

Friday, November 13, 1914.

THE CAUSES OF THE WAR

As near as we can gather from a diligent perusal of current periodicals, the causes of the European war are these:

1. Emperor William's personal ambition.

2. The emperor had nothing to do with it; he was away from home when the trouble broke loose; it was caused by the military party of Germany.

3. It was not caused by the military party, but was the result of a popular uprising of all classes in Germany.

4. Servian intrigue, by which she was planning to disrupt Austria-Hungary.

5. Austria, that lusted to possess Servia.

6. Russia, that plotted to crush Austria and Germany, and to rule all the Slavs.

7. Germany, by its invasion of Belgium.

8. Some French officers who rode over in automobiles into Belgium before the war, and thus violated the neutrality of that country.

9. Belgium, that was naughty to Germany

and resisted the passage of the army over her fields.

10. England, that hated Germany, envied her achievements and stirred up the world against her.

11. England's hypocrisy and lying.

12. The war is the natural evolution of Germany's destiny, the plan of fate to spread German culture over the world.

13. Overpopulation in Germany. Too many German babies. Germany's rapidly increasing numbers had to have more room.

14. The whole war is the result of competition in commerce.

15. The conflict is traceable to the craft of the capitalist class.

16. The presence of great armaments, as in Germany and England.

17. The absence of great armament, as in Luxemburg.

18. The German desire for conquest.

19. The German desire to defend the fatherland.

20. French revenge.

21. The wish of the French to get back Alsace and Lorraine.

22. It was all a question of colonial expansion.

23. It was owing to the craving of the

kaiser and his people to have their place in the sun.

24. Whoever was at fault it was somebody else.

25. Pure cussedness.

26. Nothing at all.

There are twenty-six other reasons which space does not allow to mention.

Is it not singular that for the greatest crime since men were created they can give only about the same sort of excuses a wolf gives for killing sheep?

Monday, November 16, 1914.

WHY NOT?

WAR is war. Also hell.

The acknowledged atrocities have been excused by saying that war is no picnic; people must expect hardships.

Airships have sailed over cities and have dropped bombs, slaying inoffensive old people and children.

Towns of no military value have been exterminated, the women and their babies tumbled out into the highway, to show the terror of the warrior's arm.

The story of the Cossacks' march is as horrible a bit of fact as a Chinese white wolf incursion.

It is now being reported that Germany is getting ready a Zeppelin invasion into England. The aircraft are to drop explosives down upon non-combatants and their homes.

Kill and destroy seems to be the general order. Let in the floods; drown 'em. Tear them with shrapnel. Envelop them with poison gases. Rip them up with bayonets. Sneak

up under water and torpedo their boats. Sow mines in the sea. Kill. Kill anyhow, anywhere, any time, but kill.

But while bloodthirsty ferocity has been carried to a further degree than ever before, it has not reached the limit. One means of destroying the enemy has been overlooked.

IT IS THE GERM.

An interesting article by John B. Huber in *Harper's Weekly* shows the relative destructiveness of the bullet and the microbe. He gives an incident of 1846, where Gaffa in the Crimea was besieged by the Tartars. "The bubonic plague broke out among the besiegers and killed off many more than the besieged could possibly have disposed of, thousands daily. Then a brilliant idea occurred to one of the investing generals: Instead of loading their engines with stone and metal they rammed into them and thus catapulted into the city the bodies of their plague-stricken, bacteria-ridden dead. Whereupon the Gaffans became so plague-stricken that they abandoned their city and introduced the plague into Constantinople, whence in due course it made its way into Europe."

Are not the European contestants overlooking something? It costs $2,500 to shoot off one of those great howitzers. Think of the

amount of typhoid bacilli that would buy, which adroitly sprinkled over the enemy would do far more damage than steel.

Why not fill up your cup of damnation, noble warriors? Organize a cholera corps to go die in the foe's camp and spread ruin.

Then there is the bubonic plague, there is smallpox, and doubtless enough lepers could be impressed to do effective glorious work for God and the king.

Plain lead and gunpowder are decidedly amateurish. Up! Advance! The devil calls you. Use the germ.

Let there be no bound to your heinous malignity, that when your day of judgment comes there may be no palliation.

And, by the way, why not use the women? They can shoot guns, carry ammunition, and kill generally, and whenever they have had a chance to fight they have been fiercer than males.

And children. It is said there are too many of them, anyhow.

Why should you stop anywhere in your insane diabolism? You sneer at sentiment. You ruthlessly sacrifice 10,000 lives to gain a strategic advantage.

Why do you neglect germs?

Friday, November 20, 1914.

JAPAN

One of the favorite themes of the Trouble Makers is "the coming war with Japan."

Every once in a while some newspaper, some crazy congressman, or some mischief loving magazine writer expands upon the subject of the Japanese peril.

These fomenters of evil are playing with fire. They are utter nuisances, unfortunately unsuppressible in a free government. As we can't chop them down or lock them up, let us do all we can to counteract their dangerous activities.

There is no reason on earth why we should contemplate a war with Japan, forever and ever.

The claim that Japan wants to pour hordes of immigrants into this country is absolutely false. Japan does not want unlimited colonization here.

Japan does not believe in race-mixing any

more than we do. The Japanese are as proud of their blood as we are of ours.

Neither do the Japanese want unlimited privilege of buying land here.

They are willing and anxious to co-operate with us in restricting the entrance of their people among ours, for the common good.

What they do want is to be treated decently. They are a self-respecting, sensitive people, and naturally are offended by being dubbed an inferior race.

If war ever comes between us it will be brought on by the vicious stupidity of American race-vanity and race-hate.

The Japanese government is doing all in its power to keep down anti-American sentiment among its people. The *Japan Herald* was suppressed because it continued to contain hints of American hostility.

The wildest rumors, however, are spread from time to time in Japan, stirring up fear of American aggression. For instance, a profound sensation was created on Aug. 8 last by an extra of the newspaper *Koku Min Shimbun,* which published a rumor that the United States was about to take advantage of the European situation, and of England's hands being tied so that she could not assist her ally, to send our whole fleet to Japan and "settle matters with

her once for all." Our minister there had great difficulty in allaying the indignation caused by this infamous, lying canard.

The newspaper or individual that makes bad feeling between nations is no better than the vile slanderer who tells tales to man and wife to disrupt the home.

What frightful hell-crop may grow from such sowing! Thousands of lives may have to be sacrificed for the poison ignorance of men who act as wanton, window-smashing urchins.

Let us treat our oriental friends with decency and we need never fear them.

Let us cease the evil business of "being ready for Japan" by warships, and invite that country to join us rather in beginning the Federation of the World.

Let us strive to be the nation, not most feared by Japan, but best beloved by her.

Let us treat her with courtesy, consideration, and justice, and we two nations shall march hand in hand toward the goal of universal law and suppression of the folly of international duelling.

Tuesday, November 24, 1914.

BUT THE WORLD WAS NOT READY

CENTURIES ago the Hebrew prophets spoke of the era when men should beat their swords into ploughshares, when war should cease and none should any more hurt or destroy; but the world was not ready.

About two thousand years ago the angels broke through the sky and announced "Peace on earth and good-will toward men"; but the world was not ready.

When Dante was a boy, Pierre du Bois, a young lawyer of Coutances, in Normandy, proposed a congress of princes which should organize an international court of arbitration; but the world was not ready.

Dante presented in his "De Monarchia" the idea of peace through world empire and an international organization; but the world was not ready.

In 1624 a Frenchman named Emeric Cruce wrote a book, "The New Cyneas," in which for the first time in the world was developed

the thought of a regular system of arbitration; but the world was not ready.

Henry IV. of France conceived what he called the Great Design. It was no less than a proposal to organize the world by a federation of the nations, and to substitute processes of law for the existing custom of war; but the world was not ready.

Hugo Grotius wrote "The Rights of War and Peace," the most monumental work of its kind; he endeavored to inject some reason and humanity into organized patriotic butchery; but the world was not ready.

About the same time George Fox in England, wearing a leather suit, preached woe to war; he and his fellow "Quakers" refused to fight; they were out and out Christians; but they were persecuted with bitter malignity; for the world was not ready.

Another Quaker, William Penn, not only founded the sole American colony that got along peaceably with the Indians, because he did not approach them as a bully, but also, in his "Present and Future Peace of Europe," advocated a General Diet of Nations; but the world was not ready.

Immanuel Kant, one of the world's greatest minds, declared in his essay on "Eternal Peace" that there can never be permanent

peace until the world is organized; but the world was not ready.

It was Noah Worcester and William Ellery Channing who started the Massachusetts Peace Society; they thought matters out to the same conclusion—world federation; but the world was not ready.

In August, 1898, the Czar of Russia called a conference to consider the limitation of armaments; in 1889 William Randall Cremer, a member of the English Parliament, founded the Interparliamentary Union, so that the lawmakers and not the gunmakers might settle international questions; but the world was not ready.

Reason, common sense, commerce, all forms of industry, the masses of the people, elementary justice and the religion of Jesus Christ, all unite to-day in urging the United States government to begin the federation of the world; must it forever be said that the world is not ready?

World federation is no new thing. It is as old as the dreams of men. We have dreamed enough. Let us bring it to pass!

Wednesday, November 25, 1914.

A DEPARTMENT OF PEACE

JAMES HOWARD KEHLER in the *Forum* makes a sensible suggestion that the word peace be substituted for the word war wherever the word war occurs in our government machinery.

Instead of a war department, secretary of war, war budget, and the like, let us have a peace department, secretary of peace, and a peace budget.

There is much in a name. It may powerfully suggest policies. As Mr. Kehler quotes from Gustave Le Bon:

"When crowds have come, as the result of changes of belief, to acquire a profound antipathy for the images evoked by certain words, the first duty of a true statesman is to change the words."

The central idea of the army and navy is not to wage war, but to keep the peace, to prevent war. It was easy, for instance, to make slurring remarks over our marines at Vera

Cruz because they won no striking victory, slew no platoons of men; but they covered themselves with a greater glory; they did what is an army's best business—they preserved peace.

The idea of force arouses antagonism. The police of a city are not employed to fight; they are to help, to serve the people. When Mayor "Golden Rule" Jones took away the clubs from the policemen in Toledo and had them wear white gloves instead he did a great deal toward lessening the activities of the criminal class. He substituted the positive idea of service for the negative idea of antagonism. Policemen were not to be feared, but to be used. They were friends, not bugaboos.

The nation ought to have a positive constructive programme for international federation. As federation with other nations is the only thing that can save us and the world from the monstrous folly of war, we ought to be at work every day perfecting such federation.

Treaties of peace are not enough. It is the system of individualism among nations that is fatal; the notion that each state must determine for itself what is justice and must enforce its decisions by its own arms.

There is no hope but to organize the world, or such part of it as is organizable. This is

positive, immediately practicable, and our plain duty.

As a police force is needed to maintain order in the streets of a city, so, if a navy and army are needed at all, they are needed to PREVENT WAR, NOT TO MAKE WAR.

The motion of Mr. Kehler is therefore hereby seconded that we change names and have a department and secretary of peace.

Monday, November 30, 1914.

TO WOODROW WILSON

MR. WILSON, your hour has struck.

Never before since the dawn of history has such an opportunity been presented to any man such as now is yours.

The time has come to begin the federation of the world.

The time has come to end international anarchy, where each nation enforces its judgments by its own arms.

The time has come to lead the states of earth unto the realm of law.

The United States of America is the logical nation to inaugurate this movement for which destiny has now prepared mankind.

You are our leader. We wait upon you. Will you act?

You can begin by proposing federation with the republics of the American continent. They will gladly join us. China will enter the world league. At the close of the present conflict

the exhausted states of Europe will be eager to come in.

The world is sick of war. The peoples groan for deliverance from war. Among all the statesmen of Europe none has the clear word to stay. They can suggest nothing to do, when the existing war is over, but to fall back into the old system of international rivalry, with no arbiter but each nation's own arms.

The eyes of humanity are upon you. You can say the word.

You can propose now the United States of the World, with one army and one navy, under orders from the World Parliament.

While each country retains its full independence, armies shall be disbanded, navies consolidated into one international fleet, and the hideous stupidity of war's destruction forever more be impossible.

The tremendous cataclysm in Europe is the collapse of international individualism. There is nothing else to do but to get together.

It only needs the right man, the right nation, to commence this. You are the man, this is the nation.

This is the biggest idea of all time.

Only once in centuries comes the chance for a man to be borne to fame upon the crest of

so great crisis. The "tide in the affairs of men" is at its flood. Use it! And your name shall shine as one of the greatest of history.

You have done well. The people are with you. But tariff and banking sink into insignificance before this vast issue. It is a cause that will thrill the nation. It will overwhelm all opposition. It will sweep you up to the leadership of the world. And no man will begrudge you your reward. Surely no such opening for a laudable ambition was ever before made to any man.

Will you rise to the occasion? At this crisis will you falter? May God give you courage to play the man!

Begin now! To-morrow it may be too late.

Urge that we spend our $250,000,000 a year not on bellicose and war-breeding isolation, but upon building up the world federation.

Urge that congress invite all other nations to join us in this, the only possible measure to insure against destruction.

Some nation must eventually do this; why not ours?

Some time it must be done; why not now?

Let us not be a nation of Yankees trying merely to get gain from the earth's distress.

We are too great for this. Let us, the young republic, richest of all the nations, our hands untied by complications, go forward as a nation of ideals, whose aim is to help and heal the world.

Strike! for the iron is hot.

Strike! for all the world listens.

Propose your plan, that the nations get together. It will arouse such enthusiasm as was never known. Every preacher in the land will laud you from his pulpit. Every politician will hasten to ride the rising wave of popular approval. Every woman will bless you.

The millions of the old world will look toward you as watchers of the night look to the ascending sun.

Your name will stand beside the names of Washington and Lincoln.

Are you big enough, wise enough, brave enough, far-sighted enough to do this great deed?

You cannot rest upon your laurels. Your successes have already begun to breed that discontent that is the price any man pays for success. You need a new issue.

Here it is. None such was ever known. Let the United States of America come out as the proposer and leader of the world fed-

eration. Let us definitely throw our nation soul-foremost into this.

Oh, Woodrow Wilson, did ever man hold such weighty issues in his hand!

Friday, December 4, 1914.

REWRITING HISTORY

I AM going, said the professor, to rewrite history. Its opinions have been too long unchallenged. Historians have heard such and such stories, and have kept repeating them, without giving the slandered side a chance to say its say.

I have just had a hint. I notice the kaiser insists Germany did not begin the war, Belgium is to blame. Germans are all peaceable, and the German army is the friend of widows and orphans. I also see that the Colorado mine owners are innocent lambs, the victims of wolfish laborers.

It suggests a new viewpoint for history. So I am going to take up that Garden of Eden story and get the serpent's version.

I am going to hear Ahab's and Jezebel's opinion of Elijah. We have never heard anything but the latter's side of the case. It's not a nice way to treat a woman.

Doubtless Mrs. Potiphar's explanation of

her celebrated affair and the gentleman's version of the Lucrece incident would be interesting reading.

That accomplished artist, musician, and poet Nero has too long rested under the opprobrium heaped on him by Roman political antagonists.

And what if it were discovered that Julian, far from being "the Apostate," was merely disgusted with the hair-splittings and wranglings of churchmen and wanted to be a reformer and establish the true religion?

Let us have Richard's own version of the Lancastrian fable of the infants in the tower, and the eighth Henry's plain account of his multiple domestic difficulties.

Philip II. of Spain doubtless gloried upon his deathbed over having impoverished Spain, the Netherlands, and the Indies for the sake of his reward in an iron-bound heaven.

And cannot a word be said for those devoted souls who conducted the Inquisition in their efforts to purge men's minds of evil beliefs?

Let us hear from Charles of England himself, and he may appear a martyr as he goes to the scaffold, and Cromwell may be shown up as a ranting humbug.

Perhaps Charles of Sweden after all was

no swashbuckler, and Catherine of Russia was chaste as ice.

Dickens's judgment has never been questioned. Maybe Squeers was not so much to blame and the boys needed hiding and the diet was the best that could be afforded at Dotheboys Hall. Pecksniff, Chadband, and Uriah Heep also deserve to be heard.

Yes, repeated the professor, I think I shall rewrite history.

It would be interesting to have Judas's own testimony.

I fear moral prejudices have blinded the world.

Friday, December 11, 1914.

CALLING NAMES

THERE is a certain class of arguers who when they wish to crush their opponents resort to calling names.

The epithet is like the aerial bomb dropped on a non-combatant town. It is a malicious attempt to hurt, without gaining any substantial advantage.

Mr. Roosevelt hurls the word "pacifist" at all who oppose his bellicose leanings; if a stronger term is needed he cries "ultra-pacifist."

Mr. Gardner in congress sneers at "Sunday-school" policies.

But that party in the United States who are opposed to the policy of military preparedness are not chicken-livered cowards, moony idealists nor doddering old women.

We—and I am proud to speak as one of them—are merely plain, common-sense folk, who refuse to be blinded by custom or to be stampeded by appeals to fear or to race hate.

The policy of military preparedness some desire to force on us is not new. It has been tried pretty consistently some 6,000 years.

It smashed eventually Egypt, Greece, Rome, Spain, and France as world empires.

It is now bearing its logical fruit in Europe, ruining commerce, agriculture, manufacture, and all right human enterprise in a tornado of folly.

When gentlemen therefore urge Uncle Sam to adopt the precise policy that is devastating Europe, he is not a dreamer, but rather shows the hardest kind of hard sense when he says: "I rather guess not!"

We do not want to "change human nature," we want to substitute intelligence for idiocy in the men who do the governing.

We do not believe justice is the product of gunpowder; liberty is not the quotient of a preponderating navy, and honor is not to be determined by duels, individual or national.

All we want is law in place of anarchy. And when each nation settles its own disputes with others by its own arms, that is no more nor less than international anarchy.

Gentlemen come asking for millions to increase our armament, in the same breath admitting the billions already spent have been poured down a rat hole.

There is but one way out of war and war preparedness. That is through the federation of the world.

Why not go about that now? To say we must wait until all nations are ready is silly. There must be a beginning sometime, somewhere.

WE ARE THE ONLY NATION THAT CAN BEGIN.

The great big American idea is federation. Why not advance that, instead of calling names?

Monday, December 14, 1914.

THE CRUELTY OF FEAR

"THE cause of atrocities," says John Galsworthy, "is generally the violence of fear. Panic's at the back of most crimes and follies."

Never was a truer word spoken. Fear has many and hideous whelps. Despair and suicide, failure and spoiled work, quarrels, disloyalty, and crime; also cruelty, worst of all. They all take after their mother, who is the arch enemy of men.

Many a dog has been driven mad because being abused he became afraid and in his demented confusion snapped at his pursuers, bit even those who tried to befriend him.

The stag at bay will fight like a tiger. The horse unnerved by terror will try to kill its keeper. The gentlest animals, stimulated by terror, are dangerous.

Drive a man into a corner and there is no telling what he will do. Under the mad instinct of self-preservation he will forget all

moralities, all sympathies; he will be a man no more, but a wolf.

The cruelties of the underworld are due to the constant terrorizing to which they are subjected. They are hunted like forest beasts. They are watched by the police, threatened, browbeaten, clubbed, third-degreed. All under the world-old delusion that fear prevents crime.

As if fear ever did any good! In the spirits of men action is equal to reaction. The more fear, the more violence. Every reign of terror ends in a reign of blood.

Keep a child in a state of terror and every vicious, heartless and vindictive trait in him grows. It is the surest way to bring up a criminal.

Kindness is the sister of Courage. Poise, gentleness, and clear vision belong only to the unafraid. Fear shrivels the heart, darkens it, until only the batlike brutalities remain.

War is caused by fear. It may seem a proud thing to make other nations dread us, to impose upon them by superior fleets and armies. But never so was peace preserved. Intimidation is but unstable sand upon which to erect national security.

The French people were afraid, and there

broke out the bloodiest of revolutions; it was the inhumanity of terror.

The Belgians were afraid; their conquerors need have expected nothing but retaliatory atrocities.

The nation whose ambition is to be feared invites its own destruction.

Fear at last always sinks into the filthy mire of cruelty. Women revert to hyenas, men become mad dogs, nations are transformed into bandits.

Tuesday, December 22, 1914.

SISTER CITIES

To know is to love. Love is the deepest knowledge.

We hate people simply because we do not understand them. Hate is a by-product of ignorance.

Always provincial people are the best haters. Railways and steamships are breaking up the old historic hates of the world. Let us hope that this present war is the dying contortion of race rancor.

What a great thing it would be if all the people of the United States could become acquainted, for instance, with all the people of Japan!

A little incident is in point. The cities of Puteaux and Suresnes in France, on the one hand, and Keighley in Yorkshire, England, on the other, call themselves "Sister Cities." Their sisterhood has been manifested for some ten years in a most interesting way.

It came about like this. Sir Thomas Bar-

clay, a distinguished English jurist, who had lived some thirty years in France, was talking one day with friends about the entente cordiale which had just been concluded.

"Do you know," he said, "why we like one another, believe one another to be good fellows, and enjoy sincere friendship? It is because we know each other well. Why could not the masses of one nation know well the masses of another?"

"Let us begin!" exclaimed M. Huillard, one of the company present. "I am mayor of Suresnes and member of a lot of societies in Puteaux, the neighboring town."

"And I," replied Sir Thomas, "have a bit of influence in Keighley. Let us get the citizens of Keighley and those of Suresnes and Puteaux into personal relations."

It was done. Keighley had about 45,000 inhabitants. The French cities had about the same number. There was a basis of equality.

The English moved first. In 1905 some thirty workmen of Keighley visited their brothers in Suresnes-Puteaux; they were entertained hospitably. By dint of gestures and loud tones they made themselves understood. They had a gorgeous time and returned home enthusiastic.

The following September thirty French

workingmen made a visit to Keighley. The custom grew. Each year English and French went to see each other. At first the men only made the voyage; then they began taking their wives, and finally they exchanged children. English little ones went to Suresnes-Puteaux to learn French, and French boys and girls came to Keighley to learn English.

They exchanged gifts upon occasions. Suresnes-Puteaux sent to Keighley a work of art; the latter responded with a loving cup.

When the floods came in France and the streets of Suresnes-Puteaux were inundated the workers of Keighley raised a relief fund of a thousand dollars for their "brothers." The bonds of fellowship were cemented.

The whole affaîr is marked by the utmost sincerity. "Why," said a Puteaux man on his return from one of these visits, "upon our arrival our English friends took our train by assault. We were overwhelmed by their cordiality. And they say the English are cold and phlegmatic! Where did they get that? Provençals could not have been more hearty."

"I used to have the most stupid ideas about Frenchmen," said a Keighley workman. "I didn't know them, you see. I could kick myself for my ignorance."

What was done by these two cities might be

done on a larger scale. If a thousand towns in Germany had paired with a thousand towns in England and learned to know each other there would have been no war.

If a number of cities in America would pair with an equal number in Japan we might get rid of the vicious war talk between the two peoples.

Thursday, December 24, 1914.

THE COST

The year 1914 holds the record for evil of all the years that the earth has lived.

Never since the dawn of time has there been such calamity among mortals.

If the flood drowned all but Noah's family, yet the entire population of the globe at that time probably was not equal to the number of Europeans slain in the war of 1914.

The ravages of Alexander, Tamerlane, the Roman conquerors, the Arabian armies, Charlemagne, and Napoleon, things we used to read about and wonder how human beings could ever have such bloodlust, things we attributed to the darkness of the past and deemed impossible now, are far surpassed by the horrors of the "far flung battle line" of this day.

An estimate published in the newspapers gives the number of killed, wounded, and missing for five months ended Jan. 1, 1915, as six million.

Seven billion dollars is the figure at which is put the direct war expenditure.

The amount of incidental loss due to the paralysis of commerce, the stoppage of manufacture, the waste of crops, and the destruction of property is incalculable.

Belgium, formerly one of the most crowded and prosperous of states, is a howling waste, where a whole people, guilty of no crime save self-defense, are wandering desperate, starving, and freezing among their burned and battered homes.

Northern France, the smiling garden of Europe, is in as desolated a condition.

England is fighting all over the world. Her disagreement with Germany has already cost her $1,125,000,000.

France has been hit even harder. All her industries, save war trade, have been smitten. In the region of Lille, Roubaix, and Ypres alone $90,000,000 worth of machinery has been destroyed by the invaders.

The war is costing Russia $350,000,000 a month.

Germany's loss cannot be told. She has sacrificed men and money with a wild recklessness which if kept up any considerable length of time would bankrupt the world.

In all this hideous welter of brutal fighting

it is the very fittest young men of the race that have been slaughtered. The impotent, crippled, weak, and diseased are spared. A survival of the unfittest!

Why?

Simply because that is the only plan of world government we have. Is it not inconceivable that, to settle disputes between nations, we should have to resort to such a monstrously inhuman and wasteful process?

And is it not the plain duty of the United States to make the first move toward getting out of this riot of anarchy, and from its vantage ground of sanity propose to all nations that world federation now begin? To do this would be at least a step toward ending war.

Tuesday, January 5, 1915.

AN APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD

PEOPLE of the world, it is time for you to awake, to see the goal you want to reach and to go straight to it.

You are harried, decimated, impoverished by the absence of world government. Each nation is a law unto itself, which means lawlessness. Wars are caused by this state of things.

People of Europe, German, Russian, French, Austrian, Servian, English, any way this war ends will make no difference; YOU must pay the piper. Kings and certain other privileged classes may reap distinction, reward in money and the gratification of vengeance; YOUR portion will be slain husbands, heart-broken widows, orphaned children, burden of taxes, harder conditions of labor, and the destruction of your business.

Do not wait, therefore, for your politicians to move. Act yourselves! Do it now!

Do not ask for PEACE! That will be MISUNDERSTOOD as meaning cowardice and surrender.

Ask for LAW, for some intelligence in world government, for the united nations of the world.

Do this one thing, and this only, for it is the only thing that can save you!

As Professor Charles P. Fagnani of Columbia University says, "Peace and disarmament are by-products. They will come as the result of the federation of the political units of the world, NOT BEFORE AND NOT OTHERWISE."

Dr. Karl Liebknecht, the distinguished German Socialist, declares:

"Nowhere have the masses desired this war. Why should they, then, murder each other to finish it? It would be a sign of weakness, it is said, for any one people to suggest peace. Well, let all the people suggest it together. The nation which speaks first will not show weakness, but strength, and will win glory and the gratitude of posterity.

"Already among the German workers there is far greater opposition to the war than is generally supposed, and the louder the echo of the cry for peace in other countries the more

vehemently and energetically will they work for peace here."

The death of war does not depend upon this or that nation's success. It depends on whether or not we get world federation.

The present conflict, as its beginning was causeless, so will its end be futile. Unless we get some sort of world force by federation the people will again and again be desolated by war's madness.

It is all important that you see and know what it is you want. You don't want Germany to conquer, nor England to conquer, nor Russia to conquer. You want law to conquer. And there's only one way to accomplish that.

Nationalism and patriotism cannot help you. Only HUMANITY can save you. Only in the oneness of world government is there hope for any people, great or small, Germany or Belgium, Austria or Servia.

You can have this if you want it. You must agitate. You must arouse. You must create public opinion. You must kindle an international fire that shall consume all war possibilities in the flames of reason.

For world government will never come DOWN FROM THE RULERS, whether kings, presidents, or senates; it will come UP FROM THE PEOPLE; it will come only

when the vast masses become articulate and move together, demanding that HUMANITY AND ORDER SUPPLANT NATIONALISM AND ANARCHY.

Tuesday, January 12, 1915.

WHO'S WHO UPON THE QUESTION

THAT you may realize that the movement for world federation is not a fad or a furor, it may help you if you read what some men of achievement and intelligence say.

In the *World Outlook* for January a symposium of opinions is published, the gist of which I give.

Andrew Carnegie: "It has been demonstrated that 'preparation for war' by one nation makes similar preparation seem necessary by other nations which feel themselves endangered, thus making frequent wars inevitable. The cure for this unfortunate condition would be the establishment of a world-wide organization of as many peaceful powers as possible, with the avowed intention of preventing war by insisting that all differences between nations be peacefully settled by The Hague Conference, or other tribunal agreed upon by all."

Oscar S. Straus, ex-United States Ambassador to Turkey: "Peace can only be possible

under a universal alliance, when the united power of all nations stands as a guarantor for the separate rights of each, just as our federal government stands guarantor for the rights of each state."

Josiah Strong, author of "Our Country": "World federation is practicable, and, I am confident, is coming. The ultimate form that such a federation must take will doubtless be that suggested by the United States of America—a United States of the World.

"Every argument for the creation of the United States of America exists to-day, underscored, for the creation of the United States of the World, and our nation of states affords a working model for Kant's 'State of Nations.' "

Frederic C. Howe, Commissioner of Immigration, Port of New York: "The treaties which Secretary of State Bryan has made for the United States with thirty-four countries are an evidence that a large part of the world is ripe for a peace federation. The United States, from her position of commanding influence, is the nation to promote such a federation."

Edward Alsworth Ross, President American Sociological Society: "A federation of the more advanced nations is not only a possi-

bility, but it is the only means of preventing the recurrence of the war cataclysm on a larger scale and with instruments more destructive.

"There appears to be no middle ground between federation and the ruin of the civilization of the white race."

Charles E. Jefferson, pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle, New York City: "World federation is practicable, of course. I am quite clear in my mind that it must come and that Christian men ought to do all in their power to bring it about."

John Haynes Holmes, pastor of the Church of the Messiah, New York City: "If civilization is to endure, world federation must eventually be made practicable. It is either federation, worked out by sheer force of will and power of spirit, or it is chaos and black night. This it is which makes the present situation the most stupendous crisis of history."

James A. MacDonald, editor of the *Globe,* Toronto, Canada: "What the sons in America have done on the Great Lakes, on the St. Lawrence, on the Niagara, and across the sweeping plains, the fathers in Britain, in France, and in Germany might do, ought to do, on the North Sea and in the Channel. It can be done on all the continents."

Stephen S. Wise, Free Synagogue, New

York City: "Our own democracy in conjunction with the republics of Central and South America ought to have a large part in bringing about world federation—a federation which shall mean no iota of surrender of national integrity nor race individuality; a federation that shall make international peace inevitable and international war impossible."

Bishop Luther B. Wilson, President, Board of Foreign Missions, Methodist Episcopal Church: "There must be law. There must be a tribunal for adjudication. There must be a police power to enforce judgments and decrees. Given these essential elements of the plan, it is not too much to believe that the intelligence of the world, in its quieter mood, shall be able to work out the details of the plan."

David Starr Jordan, Chancellor of Leland Stanford, Junior, University: "The United States is particularly fitted, as a democratic nation looked to by all the democratic peoples in Europe as a model and an inspiration, to take the first step in forming a world alliance."

Wednesday, January 13, 1915.

MAD

THERE is every indication that the world is going crazy. A large part of it is crazy now—crazy as a bedbug.

There is no difference. High and low, nobles and commons, learned professors and plain work hands, all are affected. Has our planet swung into some zone of Conan Doyle gas which has produced mental derangement among all human creatures?

Dr. Alexis Maltseff, a Russian expert in psychiatry, member of the Munich Medical Society, and until disabled by sickness a participant in the great war, declares that Europe is in a state of "bellicose psychosis verging on paranoia."

"The war," he says, "is more like a mediæval obsession of the masses than a rational international struggle for power and glory."

One form of this craziness is ingenious, inflamed, and persistent lying. Reading the daily bulletins from Germany, France, and Russia

we cannot resist the conviction not only that they do not tell the truth, which is plainly manifest by comparing them, but that the men who issue them are unable to see the truth. To lie consciously is wicked; but to lie unconsciously argues dementia.

"Unconscious lying," writes Dr. Maltseff, "is one of the first elements of war psychosis. It is the fruit of the terror and emotion which every man feels in battle."

The kings and diplomats who started the affair are mad of a surety; for having plunged the people into the abyss they are now strenuously protesting that they did not begin it. I take it they are honest. Nobody began it, as no one begins a riot in an insane asylum or a drunken row in a grog shop.

The people themselves are insane. For no man would go out and murder another man with whom he had no quarrel under heaven unless he were cracked. Patriotism has become paranoia. When love for one's country is expressed in hate of another's country what was a grand sentiment is twisted into a dangerous delusion.

The disease has spread across the Atlantic. Numerous alleged statesmen over here are jumping up and down with loud cries insisting that the United States shall hurry up and by

all arts of truculence get into the same "prepared" condition that has wrecked Europe. Plain reason would suggest that we keep out, by proposing some form of world government.

So demoralizing is war, says the *Dial,* even to those who only read about it in the newspapers, that a wave of crime will sweep over the world after the tempest now raging shall have subsided.

It takes a deal of sheer faith nowadays to be able to repeat Browning's creed:

> "It's wiser being good than bad.
> It's safer being meek than fierce;
> It's fitter being sane than mad.
> My own hope is, a sun will pierce
> The thickest cloud earth ever stretched."

Tuesday, January 19, 1914.

FORCE BEHIND FEDERATION

DON'T forget the ONE ESSENTIAL THING!

If there is going to be permanent cessation of war in the world it must be by FORCE.

A Hague tribunal, or any other international court, is powerless so long as it cannot ENFORCE ITS DECREES. Peace conferences have done good in educating the people, but they can never prevail to stop war.

A city court is helpless if it has no bailiffs and policemen to carry out its orders.

These United States of America would be a rope of sand were it not for the fact that it is the government at Washington that has the army and navy, and the various states have nothing to fight with.

Behind all authority must be power, else it is merely advisory.

Whatever world league may be formed it must be based upon a world army and navy, and upon the prevention of all individual na-

tions from arming, at least to such a degree that it can resist the commands of the central court.

The prime essential wherein a state of law and order differs from a state of anarchy is that in the former all men agree to forego the redress of their own grievances by their own hands, giving up that right and power to the court, while in the latter every man is his own judge and policeman.

There must be a renouncing of the right to revenge or to defend one's self, and this must be surrendered to some tribunal or you have only anarchy.

We have state laws now that declare it a misdemeanor for a citizen to carry a revolver. We shall never have a world federation capable of ending war until it shall be IMPOSSIBLE for any nation to defend itself, and each nation shall be COMPELLED to abide by the decision of the international court.

There is no use deceiving ourselves. We must look matters squarely in the face. Treaties of peace between nation and nation, peace agitations, appeals to governments, horrible descriptions of war conditions, estimates of the cost and destructiveness of war, all are of no avail SO LONG AS EACH NATION IS ALLOWED TO CARRY ITS OWN KNIFE

AND PISTOL AND CARRY ON ITS BRAWLS IN THE STREETS OF THE WORLD.

The main lesson of our civil war was that the individual states must submit to delegated authority.

Thursday, January 21, 1915.

KINDNESS VERSUS CANNON

The United States of America has in Europe the reputation of being sordidly addicted to the Almighty Dollar, lacking in idealism and altogether new, provincial minded, and crass.

Nevertheless, when occasion presents itself to capture the South American trade while the hands of other nations were war-tied, it is found difficult to stir the Yankees up to any great enthusiasm. On the other hand, when Belgium was stricken, when seven million people were threatened with starvation, when both Germans and allies dared not feed them for fear of aiding the enemy, and a whole nation was like to be extinguished, sacrificed to military necessity, these same Yankees within a few months organized a fleet of thirty-one ships for the transport of food to the perishing victims.

It is the most magnificent event in history; a regularly operating fleet engaged by the citi-

zens of one country to save the citizens of another.

Corporations have vied with private persons in co-operating in this splendid work of succor. Millionaires, railroads, express companies, the postoffice itself, have seconded the benevolence of thousands of individuals.

When the war storm is over, this golden deed will

"Lie like a lane of beams athwart the sea."

The struggles of captains, the campaigns of slaughter waged by the driven millions, shall sink to the brutal level of all former wars; but this mighty act of a neutral people shall remain lustrous forever.

Alfred Nerinex, burgomaster of Louvain, speaking of America's swift aid to his people, said:

"We cannot buy food, even if we have the money, when the doors are closed to imports. Feed us now, and we will pay you back in industry when the war is over. We are paying back now in gratitude for the lives America has saved, gratitude which will endure as proof that human affection is stronger than any treaty alliance. The most powerful army in the world cannot Teutonize Belgium, but

America, armed with bread, is Americanizing Belgium."

In such actions as this lies our true defense. To guard against war the common-sense course is to remove those passions and customs of time-honored evil that cause war; and not to excite the envy and fear of the nations by arming against them.

No sum of money is too great to spend in making Japan, Mexico, and all other countries feel that this vast democracy of free people is friendly and not suspicious, that we are generous and unafraid.

But to expend our huge resources in arms that all may dread us, to play the braggart and the bully, is the height of mental and spiritual darkness.

Tuesday, January 26, 1915.

POLAND

If you have tears to shed for the miseries of the human race shed a few for unhappy Poland.

For months the armed hordes of twentieth century barbarism have added daily new pages of blood, of ruin, and of devastation to the long book of "The Tragedy of Poland."

This wretched land has become the most enormous, the most sanguinary, and the most savage arena for the brutalities of European militarism. It has been a wild whirl of sack and pillage, assassination and destruction.

The Poles themselves have not the Belgian satisfaction of dying for their fatherland. Over a million of them are scattered among the Austrian, German, and Russian armies, half a million in the Russian and Austrian forces each, and a hundred thousand among the German. Often the father on one side, his sons on the other. A fratricidal orgy!

Three-quarters of Polish territory is tram-

pled and despoiled by the swaying, wrestling armies. Hundreds of villages have fallen in the way of the madmen and have been reduced to heaps by artillery fire. The armed belligerents, advancing and retreating, back and forth, have ploughed the devoted land with the red share of war, whose hell-seed crop is perennial hate.

Two vast human torrents have passed, leaving few living beings behind them, annihilating what they could not carry away, so as to leave no supplies for the enemy.

Beside the enormous losses properly due to war, beside those which might be attributed to strategic reasons, come the numerous outrages, robberies, and cruelties perpetrated by the soldiers personally; destruction for destruction's sake.

Innumerable families are homeless. Hunger is everywhere. The railways are torn up, the bridges smashed. Factories are in cinders. Homes demolished. Red ruin everywhere.

There is no oil. The long winter nights are spent in darkness.

Their flocks and grain have gone to enrich the army commissary.

A whole people is assassinated by the criminal bands of modern civilization, by czar and kaiser, who started out upon their vile work

after attending divine service in their respective churches, invoking the blessing of Jesus of Nazareth upon their hellish designs.

Why?

What had the Poles done? What quarrel had they with anybody? "Busy as the devil is, not the slightest!"

Winter reigns on Poland's bleak fields. Lack of food and high prices and paucity of the means of transportation grow daily worse. Famine and disease are king and queen of this desolated realm.

In the colossal tempest of bloodshed and violence in Europe the corpse of Poland rises like the spectre of the most monstrous of human tragedies.

Thursday, January 28, 1915.

AMERICA'S PLACE IN HISTORY

"THERE is something distinctive that America has to contribute to the world's spiritual treasury," says Rabbi Gorfinkle of Sinai Temple, Mount Vernon, N. Y. "Ancient Israel gave religions to the world; Greece contributed art and a sense of the beautiful; Rome's influence in the realms of law has been universally felt; English genius has expressed itself in the form of parliamentary government; and now the world needs peace."

Let us make this admirable list a little more conclusive, and drive it home.

The world needs peace, but most of all the world needs to SEE—to see the only way in which peace is possible.

It is America's function to bring about some practical form of world government.

At present there is none. We have only world anarchy, each nation its own judge, jury, and policeman. Out of this can only come war after war.

Anarchy is government by everybody; law is government by delegated authority.

There have been but two principles of world government, empire and federation.

Empire was tried out by Alexander, Cæsar, Charlemagne, Napoleon. It is now being tried by Germany, England, and Russia. It is utterly impractical. It always falls by its own weight.

Empire means for one nation to conquer all the others. Federation means that there shall be no conquest; each country is to mind its own business, and disputes between them shall be settled by some central, representative body.

America's history has been one long experiment in federation. The original thirteen colonies, after much confusion, were brought together. There is only one army, that of the United States, and one navy. No Ohio army or Virginia army is allowed. Force is concentrated behind the delegated government at Washington.

The civil war was not a breakdown of this idea. It was a supreme test of the idea, and was brought to a successful conclusion. It settled forever the principle of federation.

No better model of world government could be found than this American Union. We have

worked it out, fought for it, cemented it; it is forever unbreakable.

That the nations of Europe and Asia speak different languages and have different customs need not interfere with federation, as each land is to be left absolutely alone in its internal affairs, only being compelled by world force to adjudicate international differences by a court of law and not by war.

When will America arise to this, its mission to earth?

When shall we get a president who will realize his greatest policy to be the advocacy of world government?

When shall we secure a congress with vision enough to propose some plan of workable union with other nations, and make this issue paramount?

O men in high places, get out of the wallow of partisanship! Destiny has set before you an open door. All the streams of history have converged upon this day; will you falter or take the tide at its flood?

The eyes of all humanity are upon you. Almighty God is waiting for you. The way is open before you.

Realize the vision of John Milton: "Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after

sleep, and shaking her invincible locks; methinks I see her as an eagle mewing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full midday beam, while all around her is the noise of timorous and flocking birds that flutter about, amazed at what she means."

Monday, February 8, 1915.

WAR RABIES

ACCORDING to the newspapers the kaiser has conferred the order of the Red Eagle of the Fourth Class, with the Royal Crown, upon a man named Ernest Lissauer, who wrote a poem, "The Hymn of Hate," which, first published in the *Jugend Magazine,* has become very popular throughout Germany.

It is a most mad and amazing expression of the rabies produced by patriotism. It is a low and brutal thing, a shame to the man that wrote it, a disgrace to the people that like it, and a dishonor to the emperor that rewards it.

Think of civilized men, and professedly Christian men, singing such mad-dog stuff as this:

"You will we hate with a lasting hate,
We will never forego our hate,
Hate by water and hate by land,
Hate of head and hate of hand,
Hate of the hammer and hate of the crown,
Hate of seventy millions choking down.
We love as one, we hate as one,
We have one foe and one alone—
ENGLAND!"

Of all the stupid, petulant, weak, and childish things war-worshipping Germany has done, this is the worst. It can excite nothing but disgust among cultured neutrals.

In the first place, it is not true. The German PEOPLE do not hate the English. The junkers who brought on this war are endeavoring to infuse their spite into the populace. The PEOPLES of both Germany and England are kindly, intelligent, humane people, with nothing but good will toward each other.

Then comes EARL CURZON of Kedleston right back, snapping like a teased pup, and yaps as follows, in a "New Year's Prayer," addressed to the blessed God and at the damned Germans:

> "I pray that every passing hour
> Your hearts may bruise and beat!
> I pray that every step you take
> May scorch and sear your feet!"

For several stanzas he goes on to curse his German brothers up and down, back and forth, and, to use the choice euphuism of Billy Sunday, "from hell to breakfast and back again to lunch."

England gains nothing by descent to this contemptible level. It is wholly unworthy.

If wars must be, we should at least like to

see them waged with some sort of nobleness. Men used to be able to fight as knights and gentlemen, with some spirit of dignity. But in this war we look in vain for any gesture of chivalry.

On the field is cruelty as cold and murderous as ever among red Indians.

In state councils a mendacity as outrageous as ever among the most benighted paynims.

In universities a slobbering Chauvinism utterly astounding in intellectual men—the restraint of scholars swept away by the hysteria of nation-fetichism.

In churches every beauty of Christian charity submerged in stinking muck-heaps of unchristian revenge.

And now among the poets—no vision, no exaltation above the dust and grime of conflict, nothing but hydrophobiac mouthings.

Great God! What intellectual and spiritual prostitution attends the steps of war!

Thursday, February 11, 1915.

NATIONAL VANITY

VANITAS VANITATUM! All is vanity and vexation of spirit!

Europe to-day is a seething, stinking caldron of vanity.

A vain individual is disgusting enough, but a vain nation is a hundred million times worse.

When will states learn that what is a vice and weakness in one man cannot become a glory in any multiple of men; that a million of gentlemen, of refined and cultured people, cannot afford to become, as a national unit, boastful, truculent, spiteful, cruel, and petulant?

Germany complains that the sympathies of the neutral world are against her. She has only herself to blame. It is her "ueber alles" stuff that tires us.

Neither do we get into any glow of admiration over Britain's "ruling of the seas"; nor in the "irresistible destiny" of Russia, nor in the "intellectual leadership" of France.

Also we remain cold when gentlemen over

here jump up and down and cry out that the United States must "rule the Pacific" and control South and Central America, and tweak the nose of Europe.

If possible we would like our nation to conduct itself as decently as we expect our children to conduct themselves.

We are not a nation of gunmen, bruisers, bullies, and gamecocks; we are, or we hope we are, a nation of GENTLEMEN.

And in international relations one ounce of gentlemanly courtesy, forbearance, patience, and civil words is better than tons of chip-on-the-shoulder bellicoseness.

Pride goeth before a fall, says the good book.

The Masurian lakes, the plains of Belgium, and the banks of the Aisne are strewn with the mangled grist from the tooth mill of pride.

Why did Germany go into the war and all the maniac nations follow her? Pride!

Why does the conflict still go on? Why don't the murderous gladiators stop now, adjust their grievances and go back to work? Pride!

Pride! The same thing that makes the employer say he "has nothing to arbitrate," and the labor union refuse to parley. The same accursed stubbornness that made the imbroglio

in Colorado, the same that disrupts families and spoils lives everywhere.

Pride! that twists the meaning of honor from self-control to truculence, that poisons love by selfishness, that contorts, degrades, and disfigures all things human, and covers the kindly faces of men and women with the mowing masks of hideous hate.

The pride of the kaiser and his junkers, the pride of England, of France, of Austria, of Russia; pride, the steaming miasm of hell, turns the smiling earth into Aceldama, and transforms men, the sons of God, into snarling hyenas.

Nations of the world, the PEOPLE are getting mighty sick of your GLORY; we would like to see a little of your REASON, CONCILIATION, and COMMON SENSE.

For the price we pay for your pride is a little too stiff.

Says James Bryce: "Every race and nation must learn it ought not, even in its own interests, to desire predominance or seek to enforce its own type on the world. It must recognize that it exists not for its own good but for the good of its neighbors."

Saturday, February 27, 1915.

SELLING WAR SUPPLIES TO EUROPE

Conscience is a relative affair, depending on place and time, particularly on time.

People did things in past ages, and did them comfortably and as a matter of course, that civilized beings to-day shudder to imagine. They piously gouged out the eyes of political opponents, sang Te Deums while roasting heretics in the public square, bought and sold slaves, whipped women at the cart's tail, used language in the drawing room that nowadays is only heard in the groggery, and altogether tolerated the most appalling inhumanity, all the while deeming themselves most cultured and gentle.

We suppose ourselves much advanced now. But some day our children's children will read of our doings and exclaim: "How could they possibly?"

This war, for instance, imbecile in its motives, maniacal in its process, utterly outraging all intelligence and humanity; what will

they say of it? Slaughtering millions of people, to advance the welfare of the people! Destroying the wealth of centuries' accumulation, for the economic advantage of the people!

A striking instance of our obtuse conscience, our lack of world sense in morals, our blind grasping for present profits at the cost of future ruin, is found in THE MANUFACTURE AND SALE OF WAR IMPLEMENTS.

In the last four months of 1914 America's exports in war materials amounted to $49,466,092.

Europe being engaged in an orgy of destruction, we Yankees, taking care not to get mixed up in the mêlee, helped along by selling to the belligerents $50,000,000 worth of weapons and other murder supplies.

Not only have we sold to France, England, and Russia, to enable them to blow up factories and mangle workmen, but we have liberally furnished Greece and Italy with munitions against the hour when they may want to jump into the ring. The only reason we have not sold to Germany is because we couldn't. We are neutral. We don't care whose money we get.

Every cent of this profit means the wiping out of values. It is the same as if we had spent

the fifty millions in hiring firebugs to burn granaries.

Business knows no nationalities. World commerce is one. Tariff boundaries are fictitious. What injures Albania injures Illinois, in the long run.

The whole traffic in arms is suicidal.

If I were czar of America I would prohibit the manufacture of all weapons for taking human life, except under the direct hand of government, and absolutely boycott any nation at war.

The Electro Steel Company of Pittsburgh, it was stated in the news recently, refused to bid on a contract for $4,000,000 worth of steel shells for the British government. The president, Charles R. Bryson, said:

"Our company refused to bid or even consider it, for reasons of humanity. We think that the warring countries should not be encouraged. So long as they are able to purchase supplies of this nature the war will continue.

"I wish to state in making this refusal we are not opposed to England or her allies, or to Germany and her allies.

"We don't desire to make money with instruments that are used to slaughter people, and we think that other companies might do

well to consider the matter in the same light."

We sincerely hope this news will not be denied. We want to think there are some business men in the United States OF WHOM OUR GRANDCHILDREN WILL NOT BE ASHAMED.

Thursday, March 4, 1915.

STARVATION AFTER WAR

In the footsteps of war comes starvation. After the wholesale murder of men comes the slow torture of women and children.

All Europe is threatened with hunger. With the plight of Belgium's 7,000,000 people we are most familiar. Had not America intervened with her shiploads of food the snarling armies would have let the Belgians starve.

Italy is hungry. Whether she enters into the conflict or continues trying to sit on the fence there will be empty stomachs throughout her territory. Last year's harvest was the worst in years. This year the very wheat brought into the country for its people finds its way into Austria and Germany.

Henry Sienkiewicz, the novelist, recently stated that Poland's case is even worse than Belgium's. One hundred thousand of her 127,000 square miles have been ravaged by the soldiers, who have commandeered all food,

leaving the inhabitants to starve. Fifteen thousand villages have been demolished, agriculture everywhere has been ruined, and in the towns 400,000 workers are idle and foodless.

Paderewski, the pianist, writes in the Paris *Temps* from Switzerland to the same effect concerning Polish conditions.

The Imperial Free Economical Society of Petrograd has just published an appeal "to the citizens of the United States," telling a pitiful story of the situation in Russia among all classes.

Hordes, hundreds of thousands, of Poles, Jews, Lithuanians, Ukranians, White Russians, Armenians, and Georgians, having lost their homes and their worldly all, are fleeing for their lives. Women and children, the sick and the weak, young and old, having little or nothing to eat, perish by the way.

Germany's latest frantic gesture, threatening not only to destroy her enemy's ships but to assassinate neutral commerce, is accompanied by the cry that England is starving her. The whole nation has been put on rations.

The people in the Balkans, and particularly in Albania, are in the most appalling state. No words can describe the horror of the families in this state, where law has practically

ceased and men have become little better than ravening wolves.

In the meanwhile the carnage and destruction go on. In the face of the billions spent for ruin, the thousands expended for relief is of little avail.

The war, which has no excuse either in its incipiency or in its continuance but insane pride, stubbornness, and blood-lusty glory, continues.

Saturday, March 6, 1915.

DEVIL WORSHIP

Is it not a fact, asks a correspondent, that war has its good effects? Does it not promote manliness, courage, devotion to ideals, patriotism and the like? Do we not need a war every so often to keep the race from growing soft and flabby?

Answer: The whole war business is a delusion. It is a sort of dementia that disorganizes the entire reasoning faculty. And these questions show it.

It is undoubtedly true that war gives opportunity for bravery, heroism, and other high spirited qualities. It gives an opening for discipline, efficiency, and team-play.

It is also true that cholera, smallpox, and yellow fever furnish conditions where admirable human traits are brought out, where humanity's nobleness shines. But for that reason shall we introduce a bushel of germs into the community? Shall we sacrifice a thousand

lives just to show how grand and noble we are?

This is insane logic. And it prevails among us a deal more than we think.

For example. Hardship and obstacles are good for children; hence, kick them into the street at an early age to shift for themselves. Give them no schooling, since the education they obtain by their own efforts is so much more valuable. Beat them, abuse and starve them, for many great men have risen from such treatment.

The truth about the matter is this: that obstacles and opposition do harden and develop men; it is unfortunate for any man that he is so placed that he has nothing to overcome; but nature, or destiny, or his own passions, or what not, always supplies the necessary testing of strength; and it is none of our business to oppress and hurt in order to help men.

To claim that we must bring on war in order to make men heroes implies that we should favor all kinds of tyranny to make men love freedom, all kinds of business fraud and unjust privilege to make men work, all kinds of temptation and vicious environment to make girls pure, universal drunkenness to make men temperate, general free love and nastiness to make men loyal husbands.

Doubtless if hell reigned on earth some strong souls would remain heavenly and rise in grandeur among the common riot.

But all outside of a madhouse ought to see that it is the duty of society to abate evil conditions, in order that men's energies should be engaged on higher planes. The more we are relieved from the brute struggles where we fight one another with fists or guns, the more we fight for better excellences, and find in civic contests, in wrestling against evil customs and intrenched fraud, in the competition of art, letters, education and public service, the better outlet for our forces.

If we are to have war to make us heroes, let us turn about and worship the devil, to whom we owe all the difficulties we overcome.

Every plea for war is a fantastic, twisted delusion; and none more than this.

Saturday, March 13, 1915.

CHRISTIANITY AND WAR

(*From The Outlook, Wednesday, February* 3, 1915)

MAY I be allowed, in the impartial pages of *The Outlook*, to state my opinion, which is directly opposed to the conclusion given in the article "Christianity and War," in your issue of January 13, 1915?

These are the reasons, to my mind, why an intelligent, twentieth-century, democratic Christian should refuse to go to war.

1. The commandment "Thou shalt not kill" is binding not only upon individuals but upon organizations. The most "damnable heresy" of these times is that Machiavellian theory that a state (also a board of directors or a corporation) is justified in doing things which in one person would be sinful. To rob a stockholder through corporate action is as immoral as to pick his pocket; so to murder by platoons under a flag is as wicked as to kill with a revolver one man in the street. As a Christian I refuse to be a hangman or a sol-

dier, even as I would refuse to shoot my neighbor.

2. All war is due to the stupidity or to the malfeasance of rulers. General Grant said there never was a war where the issue "could not have been better settled some other way." I refuse to kill citizens of another country simply because my governors have blundered.

3. "Princes," said Colton, "sometimes profit by war, the people never." Wars are the acts of autocracy. No democracy ever votes for war. The populace of no country in Europe was given a chance to say whether it wanted armed conflict or not. A group of a few "statesmen" precipitated the catastrophe. As a democrat, I refuse to give my life for what plainly is not the will of the people.

4. War is the greatest conceivable crime, "the sum of all villainies," carrying with it every form of violence, inhumanity, and deviltry; to participate in it I should be personally guilty of the deepest possible offense toward Almighty God.

5. War nowadays is sustained by patriotism. That is but a phase in the evolution of conscience. First comes self-defense, then the family feeling, then the tribe, then the nation. That is not the end. The next step is the world. World feeling should be given prece-

dence over national. Where the two conflict the latter should give way. "Above all nations is humanity," said Elihu Burritt. An enlightened patriotism, therefore, leads me to do all I can for my country's welfare, but this always subject to the welfare of humanity. I am a human being before I am an American. I will not kill Japanese or Germans that Americans be advanced.

6. There is no patriotism in Jesus. He was clear-visioned and saw that the only permanent social enthusiasm was humanity. Therefore his doctrines teach that I am a brother to Russians and Chinese and all the world. In this enthusiasm for humanity no war is possible. What patriotism unchecked by the larger passion leads to is seen in the horror of the present war. Millions of men, having no personal animosity toward each other, and not knowing what it is all about, butcher and maim one another. Patriotism, nationalism, with no sense of world-welfare, becomes a hideous, monstrous delusion.

7. To hope for right and justice from the arbitrament of arms is absurd. Truth is not determined by the largest battalions. War is simply a duel between nations that will not go to court. I will not engage in war for the same reason that I will not fight a duel. This

used to be called cowardice. No sane men duel to-day.

8. The opposite to war is not peace but law. There is only one way to stop war, and that is by some sort of world government, wherein law shall be between nations as well as within nations. The existing condition is simply international anarchy. To end the six thousand years of bloodshed we must have one international court, and subject to this court one international armed force to enforce its decrees. There is no other imaginable way out. Therefore it is the duty of the Christian to bend every energy to attain this end.

9. The trouble with Congress, the magazines, the newspapers, and all agents of the expression of opinion in this country is that they are pointed in the wrong direction. We talk of defense against attack and urge more ships and cannon; our talk should be of cooperation with other nations to secure federation. We have a War Department; it ought to be called a World Government Department. The object of the army and navy should definitely be to prevent war instead of to be ready for war. This can be accomplished only by coalition with other states. We might begin with a Pan-American Federation. This would absorb and submerge the Monroe Doctrine,

which at present is a source of irritation to Europe and of humiliation to South and Central America.

I would therefore wish that *The Outlook* adopt a forward, constructive platform; that it would advocate spending $250,000,000 a year, not on maintaining armament to perpetuate the present anarchy, but on advancing the cause of world federation. My cry would be: Millions for international government and not one cent for anarchy.

10. I believe Kant's "categorical imperative" is the most intelligent statement of Christian morality—that I should act in the way I would wish all men everywhere to act. And I certainly believe that if every Christian would refuse to go to war, as I would, the world would be better off.

11. The whole war business is a fearful delusion, a blindness, and an insanity. The truth is that the nation that will disarm will be unconquerable. To lay down our arms, to act justly, and to offer to arbitrate all differences, and, having done all, to rest our case with the public opinion of the world, would insure us against hostile invasion a thousand times better than battleships. We speak of "adequate defense." To spend a quadrillion dollars on armament, till every headland on the ocean

bristled with huge guns, and every citizen was a soldier, would invite, not prevent, war. The more "invincible" a nation, the surer its fall, as Greece, Rome, and Spain have shown us.

12. Faith is as needed nationally as individually. There is no salvation but by faith. If this or any nation will disarm, utterly exclude war from its programme, and trust to the justice of mankind, it will lead the world. No nation will dare attack it. To invade it would be piracy, not war. It is the lack of this faith that is the matter with us and with the world. "Where there is no vision, the people perish."

13. Never in the history of nations has such amazing hypocrisy been known. The various rulers, professedly Christian, go to their respective churches and pray Christ's blessing upon their arms. If Christ's teaching and example mean anything, they mean exactly the opposite of war. His doctrine was kindness, forbearance, a refusal to appeal to physical force, and an utter reliance upon the spiritual forces of righteousness. And they pray to him to bless their violence, vanity, rapine, and assassination. The ancients who sacrificed to Mars or Odin before the conflict were at least consistent. To pray to Jesus of Naz-

areth to bless war is unspeakable blasphemy.

14. No man's creed is of any value except he be willing to die for it. I am willing. In case we drift into war with some other nation I shall gladly go out, stand against the wall, and be shot as a coward and traitor for refusing to kill citizens of another geographical territory, for I shall then be dying for a high principle I believe in instead of for the unspeakable hell of war, which I do not believe in. Knowing that murder is expressly forbidden by the God I serve, knowing that my rulers might have settled the dispute "some other way," knowing that the war was not voted upon by the democracy of which I am a member, hating with all my heart the jingo appeals to national egotism and race prejudice, striving to love my Mexican or Chinese neighbor as myself, believing that a Christly and gentlemanly attitude is as possible for my country as for myself, and being convinced that, had the United States spent one-half the energy in promoting a federation of the world, a league of peace, or some other form of world government that it spent in military preparedness, it could not have fallen into war, I would lay down my life as cheerfully as ever any martyr in the Roman arena. If this be cowardice, let the militarists make the most of it!

JUDGMENT

(*From the Cosmopolitan Magazine for March,* 1915)

"And I saw heaven opened, and behold a White Horse; and he that sat upon him was called Faithful and True, and in righteousness doth he judge and make war. And the armies of heaven followed him. And he treadeth the winepress of the fierceness and wrath of Almighty God. And he hath on his vesture and on his thigh a name written, KING OF KINGS, AND LORD OF LORDS." (The Revelation of Saint John.)

The embattled nations, nominally Christian, professing to acknowledge Jesus Christ as King of Kings, are apostate and Anti-christ; for their entire program is opposed to Jesus and His principles.

He taught utter reliance upon the spiritual force of righteousness and forbade physical force, saying, "They that take the sword shall perish by the sword." He approved the law, "Thou shalt not kill"; they spend their utmost

strength in men and machinery for the purpose of killing. He said to resist not evil, to overcome by justice, kindness and the higher human dynamic; they contend as brutes.

For the individual they partly acknowledge His authority; for the nations they flout it.

All along they have mocked at His counsel and despised His wisdom. So they have sowed to the wind and are reaping the whirlwind.

He said all men are brothers; they have fostered race hate and called it patriotism, they have slaughtered men of different race and speech and called it glorious.

He loved the Common People; the whole fabric of their government is based upon the class system.

He stood for justice "unto this last"; they have given honor and luxury to those who do nothing and reduced the workers to misery in peace and cannon-fodder in war.

He declared man's soul to be worth the whole world; they have counted the offended vanity of dynasties worth thousands of humble lives.

He condemned violence; they have kept armed to the teeth and have made heroes of their bloodiest butchers.

They have cast out of their councils his rule of love, forbearance and co-operation, and

have substituted suspicion, ferocity and destruction.

For universal equity they have substituted unearned privilege; they have crowned and medalled the idle and oppressed the industrious.

They have set their Machiavellian sophistry of force above His divine wisdom of justice and love.

And all the while they rejected Him utterly in their deeds and national policies, they have worshipped Him with their hypocritic lips, established "State Churches" and built Him tinseled temples.

It is for this that the day of reckoning has come, over the apostate nations gather clouds and darkness, upon a White Horse He comes, the Judge, Faithful and True. It is for this that an angel stands in the sun and cries, "with a loud voice, saying to all the fowls that fly in the midst of heaven, Come and gather yourselves together unto the supper of the great God, that ye may eat the flesh of kings, of captains and of mighty men!"